THE
INDIAN ARCHIVES

January, 1948

Volume II No 1

Published quarterly by the
National Archives of India
Queensway, New Delhi

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Single Copy:
Rs. 2 (in India)

Annual Subscription:
Rs. 8. (in India)
12 sh. (abroad)

All editorial communications should be addressed to the Chief Editor and business communications to the Managing Editor,
The Indian Archives, The National Archives of India,
New Delhi.

FOREWORD

By Maulana Abul Kalam Azad

Minister for Education, Government of India, and President, Indian Historical Records Commission

THE MINISTRY OF EDUCATION is concerned not only with General Education in all its aspects but also with Museums, Archaeology, Anthropology and Archives. Progress and development are necessary in all these directions and the changed circumstances of India have given fresh urgency to the need.

Ever since I assumed charge of this Ministry, I have been faced with the problem of deciding which of these activities to take up first. I realised that it would not be possible to undertake expansion schemes in all of them simultaneously. The immensity of the problem before us and the limitation of our resources compelled a determination of priority and after careful thought I came to the conclusion that we must place greater emphasis on General Education, especially so far as it relates to universal basic and social education for the people.

The first year of independence has therefore been taken up entirely with the execution of this task. Now that our schemes are complete and I am hoping that in spite of present financial stringency we will be able to start operation on an all-India basis from the coming financial year, I feel that the time has come when we may take up a second objective. To my mind, of the remaining activities of the Ministry of Education, one of the most important is the work in connection with the National Archives. Till now we have had only an Imperial Record Office, but with the achievement of independence this must be transformed into a National Archives in the fullest sense of the term.

Records are the basis of the study of history of all lands. They have this peculiarity that if the material is not preserved in time, the loss is irreparable and history of both the present and the future suffers. I have in my mind a complete plan of work about our records. I am aware of the existing financial difficulties but I feel that this should not hold up the execution of such programmes of development as are essential to the working of the National Archives.

The appearance of *The Indian Archives* was delayed owing to the exigencies of the war. With the cessation of hostilities it has been

possible to bring out this journal the want for which had been long felt. This is the first issue of the second year of its publication.

Readers of the magazine must have noticed the effort which has gone to make it more attractive and interesting but we realise that there is still room for much improvement. I am confident that with so able a historian as Dr. S. N. Sen as its Chief Editor, the journal will maintain and improve upon the standard already achieved.

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EDITORS' NOTE

THE INDIAN ARCHIVES has completed its first year of existence and now steps into the second. Traditionally this is the time to look back and take stock of our ambitions and attainments, the help we got and the hurdles we had to negotiate. It may as well be confessed that the Editors had started on this venture with much trepidation of heart for while the need for such a journal was keenly felt among those engaged in the profession, by the time the first issue came out of the press, the whole country was swept by events so momentous and exciting that there seemed to be no time for anything which was not dazzlingly brilliant. And archivism undoubtedly is not that; it is the profession of those who merely wait behind the line and render essential service to the more brilliant performers in the front. However, the response we had was extremely encouraging. The print order for THE INDIAN ARCHIVES had to be more than trebled beginning with the second issue and we still receive requests from late subscribers for a copy of the first number. We regretfully inform them that the printing position being such as it is, the reprinting of the first issue is out of the question at the moment. The same reason explains, at least in part, our having fallen so much behind schedule as well as our inability to maintain a uniform standard of printing. For these we crave our readers' indulgence. We hope that during the current year (1949) we shall be able to clear the arrears.

We take this opportunity to thank those from whom we got unstinted support: the various records offices, manuscript libraries and learned bodies, both in India and abroad, who have kept us regularly informed of their activities and who have permitted us freely to borrow from their own publications. Without their co-operation it would not have been possible for us to keep up our News Notes feature which has been generally acclaimed as very useful. Here, too, our having fallen behind schedule has caused serious dislocation, and that will account for either the absence or skimpiness of the News Notes in this and the subsequent three issues. It will also explain any mix-up in our chronology including

discrepancies between the date on the cover and the matter in the News Notes. Our thanks are also due to individual contributors who, busy people as they are, found time to write for THE INDIAN ARCHIVES. Their co-operation continues and in our future issues are scheduled to be printed articles by Mr. Hilary Jenkinson, Deputy Keeper of the Public Record Office, London; Dr. Ernst Posner, late of the Privy State Archives of Prussia; Dr. Solon J. Buck, late Archivist of the United States; M. Robert Marichal of the National Archives of France; Mr. R. B. Ramsbotham of Oxford; Dr. T. G. P. Spear, late of Delhi University, and other acknowledged authorities in the fields of archives and historical manuscripts.

ARCHIVES OF THE FRENCH-INDIA HISTORICAL SOCIETY*

YVONNE R. GAEBELE

President, the French-India Historical Society

OUR establishments in India with Pondicherry at the head possess the largest body of archives in the French colonial empire. Some of the French-Indian archives are of great importance. Their continued preservation was not, however, without many vicissitudes. The first inventory of these archives was made on 21 March 1707 after the death of Pondicherry's first Governor François Martin. Another inventory was made in 1761 in the following circumstances. In that year for the first time Pondicherry was occupied by the British. The archives were put into chests and transferred to Tranquebar, a little Danish village near Karikal. At that time, on 8 August, an inventory of the records was made which Lagrenec, Secretary of the Conseil Supérieur, sent to Dulamens, a notary. These records comprising of 243 files were in unbroken series from 2 July 1720 to 8 October 1760. The series 'Firmans and Parwanas' consisted of 54 files of deeds of title to territorial acquisitions made by the Company and of its commercial privileges.

The portion of the Pondicherry archives sent away to Tranquebar represented the major part of the archival holdings of that town; a smaller body was hidden in the neighbourhood of Pondicherry. With the return of peace in 1763, the Directors in Paris ordered the reassembling of the archives. The instruction was given in the form of a "Memorandum on the registers and papers saved at the time of the fall of Pondicherry or such as could be recovered from different parts of India." An inventory made on 30 November 1773 states that all the papers which had been sent to Tranquebar were safely brought back to Pondicherry.

In October 1778 the English captured Pondicherry again. This time all the papers and records were left there entrusted to a sentry of the naval warehouse, Blin de Grincourt, who was to have under his care this precious charge for twenty-five years or more. When in 1793 Pondicherry fell once more before the English, Blin de Grincourt took charge of the archives once again and saved them from pillage. On his death in 1800, his two sons, Alexandre Blin de Grincourt and Blin de Lamairie[1] took over the care and protection of the archives. During the course of the subsequent years Blin de Grincourt and Blin de Lamairie made several

*Translated from the author's original in French.

attempts to take the archives, special items or military documents, out of their personal custody and restore them to the general warehouse where the bulk of the records were kept. In 1816, the Blins claimed reimbursement of money which according to them had been spent by them for renting premises to house the records and other services for guarding them. They were told by the French Government that nothing was due to them. On the contrary, they were blamed for having given the English access to certain documents, a charge patently false because some of the documents were titles of possessions of the French establishment and certainly would not be recovered if the English had had any knowledge of their whereabouts.

In 1816 the brothers Blin de Grincourt and de Lamairie handed over the whole body of records so long in their custody to the care of the Colonial Inspector. Subsequently the collection grew rich with the addition of records of the revolutionary period, 1789-93, as also of the documents relating to the expedition of Bussy. In 1832, the poorly cared for archives depository was infested with rot and many records had to be burnt. In 1837 Blin de Lamairie died, and the files of old papers found in his possession were also burnt by the Government.

Fortunately in 1844 Edward Ariel, a pupil of Burnouf, arrived in the colony. He took up an appointment at Pondicherry in order to be able to pursue his linguistic studies. There he represented to the Governor, Rear-Admiral de Verninac, the need for saving what had survived of the archives of the Compagnie des Indes. On 23 September 1852 an order was issued creating a "general repository of the old archives of the French Establishments in India" in the local public library. Ariel became the first Keeper of the Library and Archives. He forthwith had copies made of all documents that were in an advanced stage of disintegration. Ariel died in 1854 and was succeeded by M. Vinson, professor in the School of Oriental Languages, who completed cataloguing the archives.

But again the archives fell into neglect until Martineau came as Governor. When he saw the rich material there he decided to found the French India Historical Society. The Society undertook the work of preserving and publishing all documents relating to our town.[2] The Society has been in existence for 38 years and the list of its publications given below will show the wealth of the published material.

Revue historique de l'Inde française: 1er volume—1916; 2e volume —1917-1918; 3e volume—1919; 4e volume—1920; 5e volume—1921-22; 6e volume—1946.

Les dernières luttes de Français dans l'Inde et sur l'Océan Indien per le Colonel Melleson—Traduit par M. Edmond Gaudart, 2e Edition 1932.

Lettres et Conventions des Gouverneurs de Pondichéry avec les divers

Princes Indiens de 1666 à 1793, publiées par M. A. Martineau, 1912.

Inventaire des Anciennes Archives de l'Inde française, dressé par M. A. Martineau.

Résumé des Actes de l'Etat Civil de Pondichéry: 2e volume de 1736 à 1760, publié par M. A. Martineau; 3e volume de 1761 à 1784 inclus, publié par M. H. de Closets d'Errey.

Index Alphabétique des noms propres contenu dans les actes de l'Etat Civil de Pondichéry; 1er volume 1676-1735. 2e volume 1736-1760, Publiés par M. H. de Closets d'Errey.

Correspondance du Conseil Supérieur de Pondichéry et de la Compagnie: Tome I de 1726 à 1730. Tome II de 1736 à 1738. Tome III de 1739 à 1742. Tome IV de 1744 à 1749. Tome V de 1755 à 1759. Tome VI de 1766 à 1767. Publiés par M. A. Martineau.

Correspondance des Agents à Pondichéry de la nouvelle Compagnie des Indes avec les Administrateurs à Paris, 1788-1803. Publiée avec introduction par M. Ed. Gaudart.

Catalogue des Manuscrits des Anciennes Archives de l'Inde française. Tome I. Pondichéry 1690-1789. Tome II. Pondichéry 1789 à 1815. Tome IV. Karikal 1739 à 1815. Tome V. Mahé et les loges de Calicut et de Surate 1739-1808. Tome VI. Yanaon, Mazulipatam et diverses localités 1669-1793. Tome VII. Documents postérieurs à 1815, Pondichéry. Tome VIII. Etablissements secondaires et Loges. Publiés par M. Ed. Gaudart.

Les cyclones à la côte Coromandel, par M. A. Martineau.

Un partisan français dans le Madura, 2e édition, par M. Ed. Gaudart.

Les Pallavas, par M. G. J. Dubreuil.

La politique de Dupleix, d'après sa lettre à Saunders. Pubiliée par M. A. Martineau.

La Révolution et les Etablissements français dans l'Inde. 1929. 344 p. Ouvrage récompensé par l'Institut. Prix Lucian Reinach. Appendices. XXX pages, par Mme V. Labernadie.

Le Vieux Pondichéry, 1673-1815. Histoire d'une ville coloniale française avec une préface de M. A. Martineau. 10 gravures, 3 plans. 2 appendices, par Mme V. Labernadie. Ouvrage couronné par l'Académie française, un volume de 448 pages.

Créole et Grande Dame (Johanna Bégum, Marquise Dupleix) Trois lettres inédites, 304 p. 14 gravures. Ouvrage couronné par l'Académie française par Mme Yvonne Robert Gaebelé.

Une Parisienne aux Indes au XVIIè siècle (Mme François Martin) par Mme Yvonne Robert Gaebelé.

Catalogue des cartes, plans et projets. Par le Major Tranchell, 1930.

Un Livre de compte de Ananda Rangapoullé (Courtier de la

Compagnie des Indes) par le R. P. Oubagarassamy, Bernadotte, 1930.

Résumé des brevets, provisions et commissions du roi et des nominations faites par les Directeurs de la Compagnie des Indes et le Conseil Supérieur de Pondichéry, par Mme Deront.

Journal de Bussy, Commandant général des forces de terre et de mer dans l'Inde du 13 novembre 1781 au 31 mars 1784. Publié par M. A. Martineau.

Mémoire de Desjardins, officer au bataillon de l'Inde, avec introduction, par Mme Deront.

Don Antonie José de Noronha, Eveque d'Halicarnasse. Mémoire historique par J. A. Ismael Gracias. Traduit du portugais avec introduction par M. H. de Closets d'Errey, Conservateur de la Bibliothèque publique, Pondichéry, 1933.

Résumé de lettres du Conseil Supérieur de Pondichéry à divers, publié par M. H. de Closets d'Errey.

Précis chronologique de l'histoire de l'Inde française (1664-1816) suivi d'un relevé des faits marquants de l'Inde française au XIXe siècle. publié par M. H. de Closets d'Errey, Conservateur de la Bibliothèque publique de Pondichéry.

Arrêts du Conseil Supérieur de Pondichéry analysés par Mme Gnanou Diagou, avocat à la Cour d'Appel de Pondichéry. Tome I, 1735-1760. Tome II. 1765-1774, Tome III, 1775-1778, Tome IV, 1785-1789, Tome V, 1790-1794, Tome VI, 1795-1806, Tome VII, 1807-1815, Tome VIII, 1816-1820.

Les privilèges du commerce français dans l'Inde, par M. Ed Gaudart, 22 pp.

L'Ezour Védam de Voltaire et les pseudovédams de Pondichéry, par R. P. J. Castets, S. J., 48 p.

Les conflicts réligieux de Chandernagor par M. Ed. Gaudart, 29 pp.

Les Archives de Madras et l'Histoire de l'Inde française 1ère partie, période de François Martin 1674-1707, 155 pp. par M. Ed. Gaudart.

Résumé des lettres du Conseil provincial de Madras, par M. H. de Closets d'Errey.

La criminalité dans les Comptoirs français dans l'Inde par M. E. Gaudart.

Catalogue de quelques documents des Archives de Pondichéry (Exposition coloniale, 1931). Publié par M. E. Gaudart.

Mémoire pour les Capucins Missionnaires établis à Madras. Publié par F. L. Faucheux.

Robert Surcouf. par M. Ed. Gaudart.

Les Archives de Pondichéry et les entreprises de la Compaignie française des Indes en Indo-chine au VIIIe siècle.

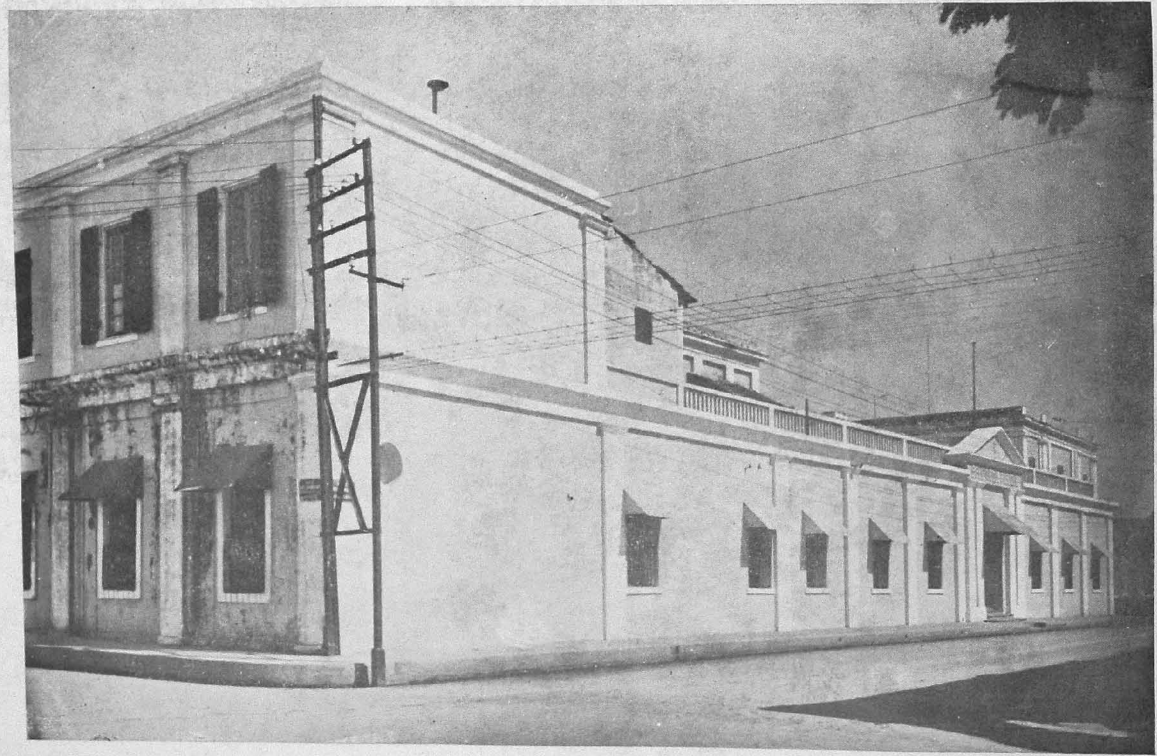
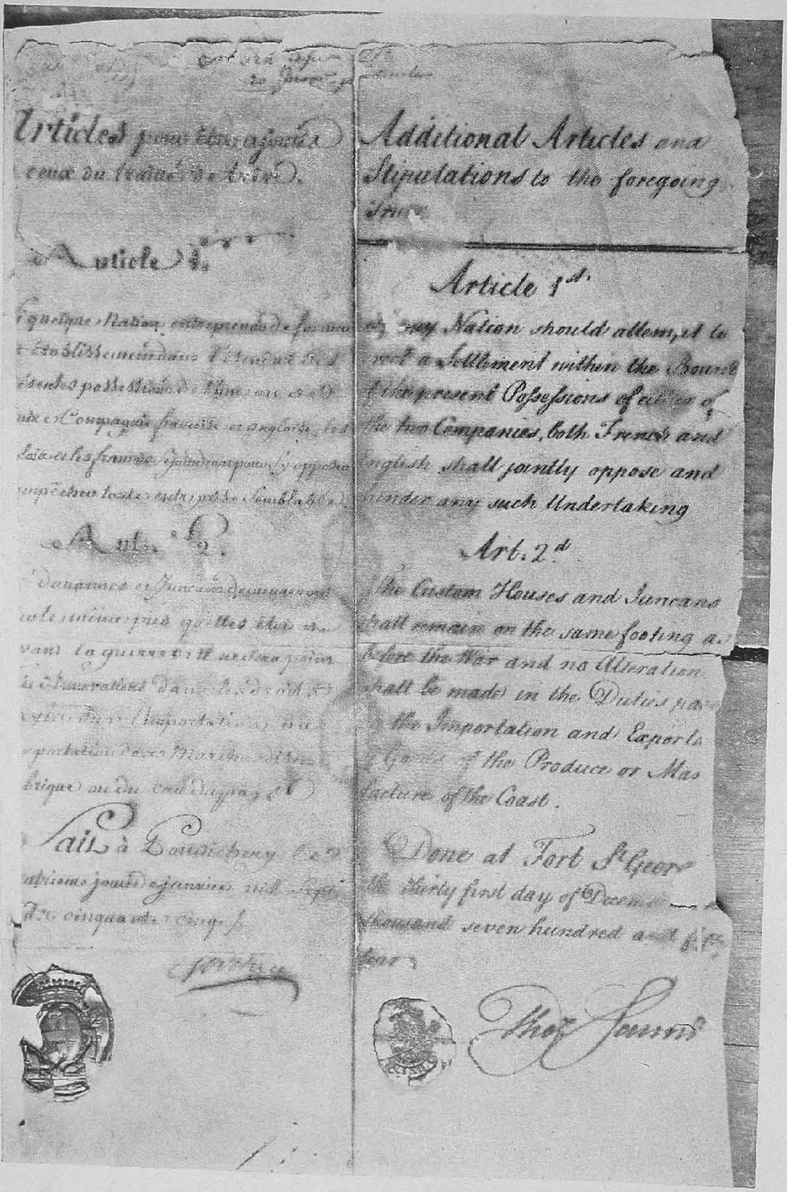


Plate 1.—Bibliothèque Publique de Pondichery (*Front View*).



Articles pour être ajoutés à ceux du traité de trève.

Article 1.

[illegible]

Art. 2.

[illegible]

Fait à Pondichéry le quatrième jour de janvier mil sept cent cinquante cinq.

Godeheu

Additional Articles and Stipulations to the foregoing Truce

Article 1st.

[illegible] Nation should attempt to [illegible] a Settlement within the Bounds of the present Possessions of either of the two Companies, both French and English shall jointly oppose and hinder any such Undertaking

Art. 2d

The Custom Houses and Juncans shall remain on the same footing a[illegible] before the War and no Alteration shall be made in the Duties pa[illegible] the Importation and Exporta[illegible] Goods of the Produce or Ma[illegible]facture of the Coast.

Done at Fort St Geor[illegible] the thirty first day of Decem[illegible] thousand seven hundred and fifty four

Thos Saunders

Plate 2.—Additional Articles of treaty concluded between Godehu and Saunders (*on behalf of the French and the English East India Company respectively*) on 4 January, 1755 (*From the Archives of the French India Historical Society*).

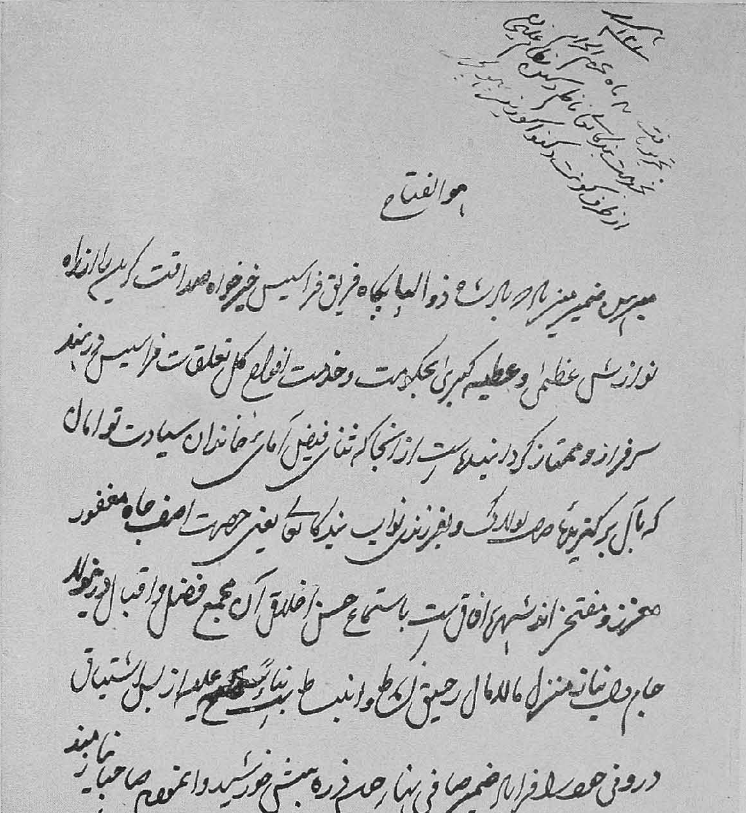


Plate 3.—A letter dated 27 October, 1786 A.D. from the French Governor of Pondichery to Nizam Ali Khan, ruler of Hyderabad *(From the Archives of the French Indian Historical Society).*

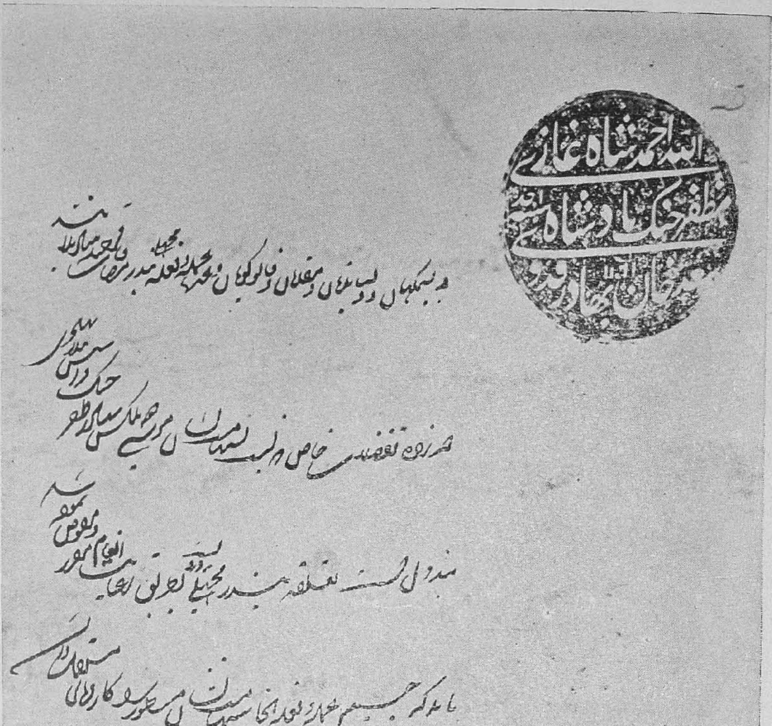


Plate 4.—A grant of Mujaffar Jang conferred on Dupleix dated 1748 A.D. (*From the Archives of the French India Historical Society*).

Choix de proverbes indiens par M. H. de Closets d'Errey.

Proverbes et Idiotismes français-anglais, par M. H. de Closets d'Errey.

Histoire détaillée des rois du Carnatic. Publié par M. Narayanampoullé, traduite du tamoul et annotée par Mme Gnanou Diagou, avocat.

Histoire de Gingy par Rao Sahib C. S. Srinivasachari, M.A. Traduction française de M. Ed. Gaudart, avec 10 gravures et une carte.

Histoire de l'Inde française (1664 à 1814) Institutions réligieuses et artisanales de l'Inde, son Folkore, par M. H. de Closets d'Errey, Conservateur de la Bibliothèque publique et des Archives.

Louis Bourquin, un français au Service des Mahrattes 1ère partie, publié par M. Ed. Gaudart.

Correspondance du Conseil Supérieur de Pondichéry avec le Conseil de Chandernagore. Tome II, 1738-1747.

Bussy in the Deccan.

La découverte de "Dupleix Fatheabad" par Alfred Lehuraux.

Le "Général de Lally" par M. Gnanou Diagou.

Les "Fouilles d'Arikamédou" par P. Z. Pattabiramin.

In preparation :

Résumé des actes due notariat en 2 vol. (1690-1770) par M. Ed. Gaudart.

"Des Plages du Coromandel aux salons du Consulat et de l'Empire" (Vie de la Princesse de Talleyrand) par Mme Y. R. Gaebelé.

"Quelques temples classés du territoire autour de Pondichéry" par P. Z. Pattabiramin.

REFERENCES :

[1]His descendants still live in Pondicherry. The mother of Madame Henri Gaebelé was a Mademoiselle Blin de Lamairie. The young children of Madame Henri Gaebelé, Robert Gaebelé and Fabre, are the descendants.

[2]See Introduction to Volume 1 of the *Catalogues des Manuscrits des Anciennes Archives* by Ed. Gaudart.

OLD RECORDS IN THE CALCUTTA HIGH COURT 1749-1800

N. K. Sinha

Lecturer in History, University of Calcutta

I BEGAN my inspection of the Calcutta High Court records in June 1946 and finished it in December 1947. During this period I worked altogether for 182 days on an average of three hours each day. I inspected the records of the Mayor's Court (1749-1774), the Supreme Court (1175-1800), the Sadar Dewani Adalat (1795-1800) and the Sadar Nizamat Adalat (1791-1800) and also read the notes of Justice Hyde in typescript in the High Court record office in 53 volumes. The eighth volume is missing. I am told that the notes in original are to be found in the barristers' library. These notes extend from January 1776 to November 1796. I intend to compare the extracts that I have taken with the original notes in the barristers' library. I also read the records of proceedings at Quarter Sessions of 1755, 1766, 1769 and 1770. The stray papers of other years do not convey any information of importance that may be pieced together. The exhibits of the Mayor's Court and the Supreme Court are, of course, much more important than the proceedings. Some of the exhibits of the Calcutta Committee of Revenue are perhaps to be found only in the High Court Archives.

The Mayor's Court and Supreme Court records must have been left in neglect during all these years. Most of them are folded papers that should be flattened without any delay. Insects have destroyed some documents of value. But after all is said it is surprising to notice the strength of the paper and the quality of the ink used in these early documents. The documents missing are much more numerous than those damaged by insects. The Sadar Dewani and the Sadar Nizamat records are much better preserved, though the arrangement is not as up-to-date as one would wish. But what struck me most is the difference in the attitude towards preservation between the original and appellate sides of the High Court. A visitor not interested in preservation once remarked "the appellate side records look richer."

The Mayor's Court and Supreme Court records furnish us almost complete information on the private trade of the servants of the East India Company. We also get here very valuable information on the inland and foreign trade of Bengal during this period. Anybody interested in the part played by the Bengalee Banyan in the economic history of the eighteenth century could rely almost exclusively on these records. A

picture of English social life in Calcutta cannot be complete without reference to them. The Court cutchery that dealt justice between Indians was not a court of record. Some records relating to it are no doubt to be found in the National Archives of India as the Press-list of Mr. Scholfield indicates, but many important papers are to be found only among the High Court records. We also get much valuable information of a stray character that would certainly enrich a new edition of Busteed's *Echoes from Old Calcutta.*

These records also supply us with valuable information on Raja Nabakrishna, Dewan Ganga Gobind Singh, Debi Singh, Muhammad Reza Khan, Raja Krishnachandra of Nadia and other notable personalities. The information supplied by these records on Amirchand (Omichand) and Nandakumar have been collected and published in two papers—'Some Information on Omichand from the Calcutta High Court Records' (*Modern Review,* November, 1947); 'Side-lights on the Trial of Maharaja Nandakumar for Forgery' (*Modern Review,* February, 1948).

One of the most interesting commissions was issued by the Mayor's Court for swearing in Warren Hastings at Cossimbazar on behalf of his first wife for the administration of the estate of her deceased husband, John Buchanan. The Grand Jury in 1755 made a presentment touching the dearness and scarcity of provisions. In their reply Roger Drake, the President of the Council, and his colleagues including Holwell asked the gentlemen of the Jury and other European inhabitants to retrench the superfluities of the table. On the basis of the exhibits we can indicate changes in the price level between 1749 and 1800. The nature of the information supplied by the records of one year is here indicated.

1762—	Rice (course)	...	Rs.	1	4	6	per maund
	Rice (medium)	...	Rs.	1	10	3	„
	Dal ...	...	Rs.	2	9	3	„
	Table rice	...	Rs.	4	5	0	„
	Raw jute	...	Rs.	2	8	0	„
	Jute twine	...	Rs.	5	0	0	„
	Country iron	...	Rs.	7	0	0	„
	Europe iron	...	Rs.	13	4	0	„
	Brass	...	Rs.	1	8	0	per seer
	Copper	...	Rs.	2	0	0	„

One of the complaints of Alivardi as also of Siraj-ud-Daula was that the Europeans abused their trade privilege and made illegal use of the *dustuck.* This is borne out by the evidence of one Kali Charan Sarkar in the case of Durgacharan Mitter vs. the Prussian Co. (1757).

The attention of the student of Anglo-Indian social history is drawn to the numerous wills only two of which are mentioned here, the last will of Sophia Yeandle dated 2 April 1778 and that of John Bean dated 1 May 1778. Sophia Yeandle was the mistress of Harry Verelst, the Governor who, when he went finally to England, left her in possession of two houses in Calcutta. One of these houses was in an alley fronting the great road to the eastward of the house formerly belonging to Warren Hastings and in 1778 to Muhammad Reza Khan. She was a half-caste Portuguese and one of her friends appears to have been a butcher. John Bean was the purser of a ship. His will contains the following sentence: "I took a girl into keeping according to the custom of the east."

The first signature in Bengali that I found in the records is that of Ananda Ram Sinha in the Will of James Kinloch, 12 October 1755. He was one of the two witnesses to this document. The oldest Bengali document that I have found in the Mayors' Court records is the bill of complaint of Kalicharan Das against Charles Douglas in 1757. Dutch trade and the Dutch judicial system in the east are best described in the papers concerning the case of Coja Arratom Benedictus against Clement Fernandez, August 1772. Of the trade in the hands of the Armenians in the eighteenth century the Mayor's Court records give us almost a full account.

The notes of Justice Hyde supply us with important and at times entertaining details. An extract may here be quoted as a specimen: "Mr. Francis, when he was at Madeira, on the Voyage out said, 'we five make one King and we three are the majority of that five.' By this and by language and conduct conformable to this sentiment he obtained the nickname from me and others of 'KING PHILIP', 'the fifth part of a King', 'Philip V' and 'Francis V.'" Justice Hyde attached some importance to these notes and wrote, "If I should die out of England which most probably will be my fate, I desire that my note books may be sent to England and correctly and handsomely printed, though I do not think that they will be books that many persons would read, but I believe may be of some public utility".

The Sadar Nizamat Adalat records enable us to form a very good idea of the system of "country justice" that was in vogue before the advent of British regulations. The shortcomings of Muslim criminal jurisprudence and Hindu ideas of justice stand fully revealed in these (*vyavasthas*) records. The *fatwahs* of the Qazis and muftis and the *bibastas* or opinions of the Hindu law officers should be collected together to give an idea of the manners, customs and ideals of the eighteenth century and to reconstruct the life of a vanished age with some degree fidelity. The part played by Muhammad Reza Khan in the administrative

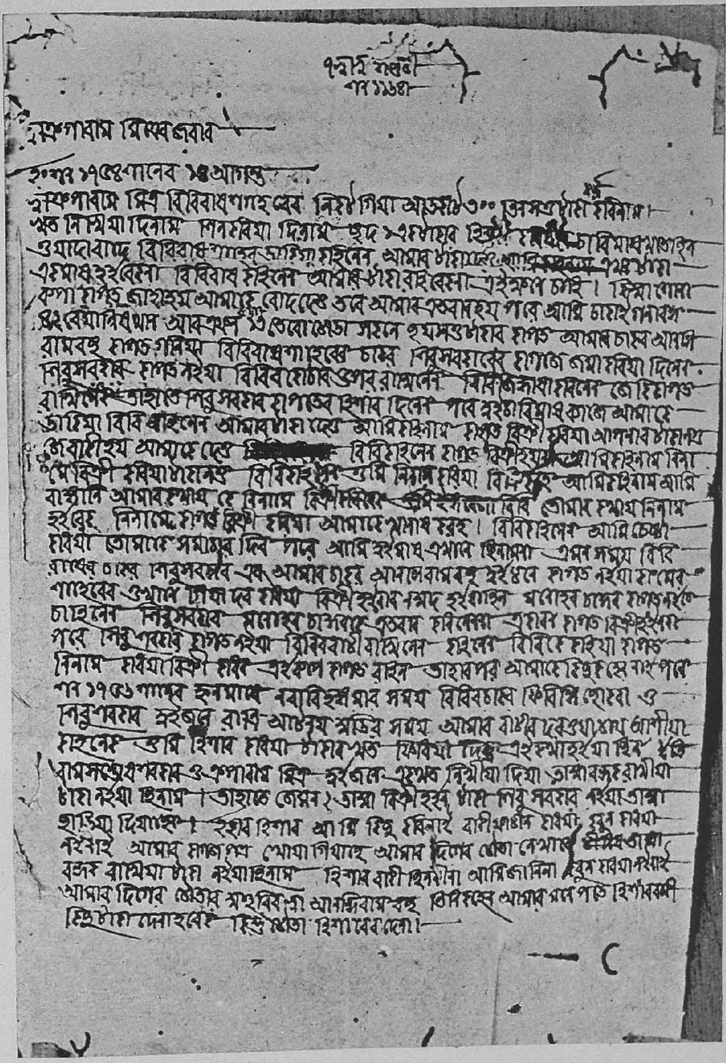


Plate 1.—Statement of Kriparam Mitra, dated 14 August, 1754. One of the oldest Bengali documents in the Calcutta High Court.

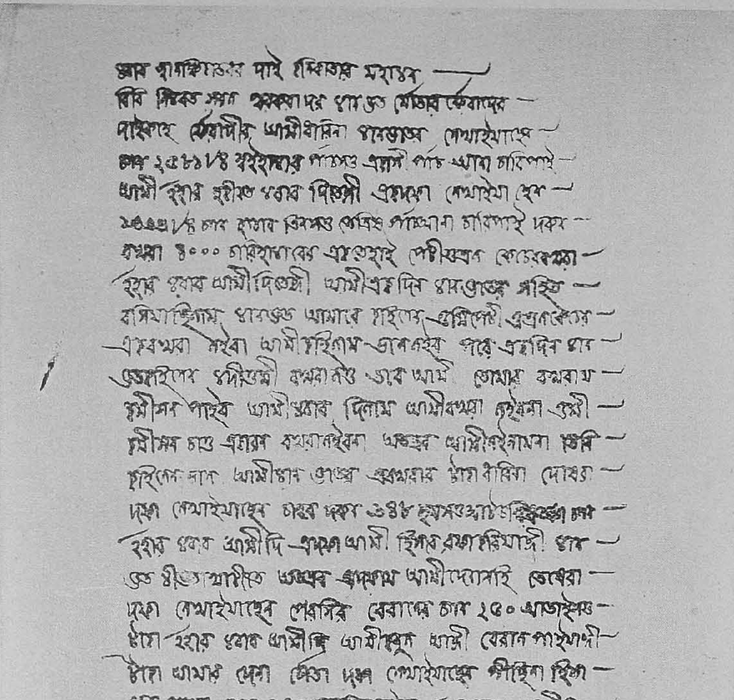


Plate 2.—Statement of Lakshmi Kanta Dhar, dated 7 January 1758, another very old document in Calcutta High Court.

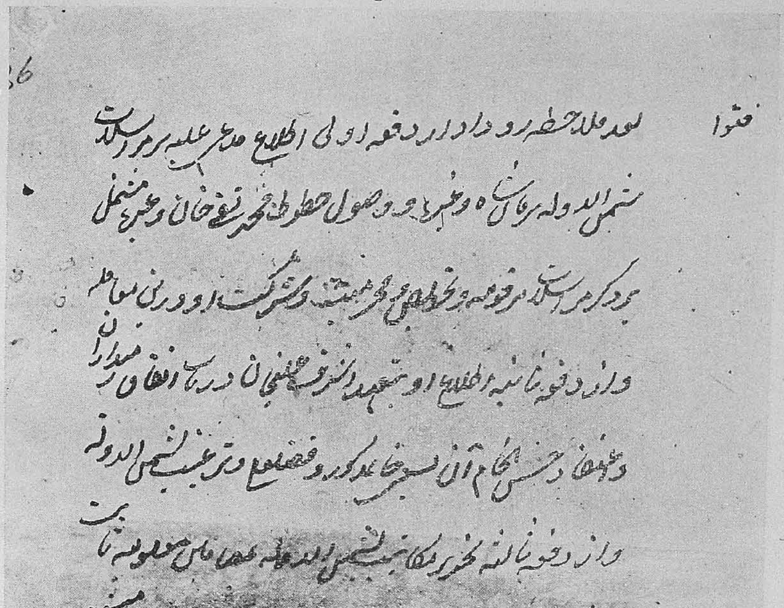


Plate 3.—Judgement of certain Qazis and Mufti's in the case of Mirza Jan 'Tuppish' *(found among of the records of the Sadr Nizamat 1800).*

Plate 4.—Another page from the proceedings of the trial referred to in Plate 3 (*also found among the Sadr Nizamat papers of 1800*).

history of the period (1765-1790) can be understood only after a study of the Sadar Nizamat records. There is a very interesting Collection of records in Persian on the trial of Mirza Jan "Tuppish" in the Sadar Nizamat papers of 1800. He was charged with treason for plotting to subvert British rule in Bengal by inviting Zaman Shah of Kabul.

The Sadar Dewani papers are mostly in Persian. The summaries made for the English judges and the administrative papers are, of course, in English. The papers I examined furnish very valuable information on Bengal zamindars at the time of the Permanent Settlement. On the social and economic condition of Bengal outside Calcutta these papers throw a flood of light. To cite one specific instance only some of the papers concerning the cities of Murshidabad and Hooghly show how and when the devastation of an epidemic disease which may be safely identified with malaria, commenced in these localities.

The haphazard manner in which Bengalee surnames were transliterated into English in the early legal records may very well bewilder a student from another province. 'Banerjee', for instance, is spelt in different documents as 'Baroojah', 'Bundopadia', 'Baroojee', 'Bunoojee', 'Bondejeah', 'Bonderjea', 'Bonage'.

An authoritative social and economic history of Bengal in the early days of the East India Company is yet to be written. For such a work the Calcutta High Court records will prove invaluable. Unfortunately they have not so far received the attention they deserve from our scholars, but an unbroken series of legal documents covering two centuries of British connection with Bengal cannot but fill many of the existing gaps in our knowledge of the period.

EARLY RECORDS OF FOREST SURVEYS

COLONEL R. H. PHILLIMORE

TREES and forests are amongst the great natural resources of the world, and great toll has been taken of this wealth since the intense development of industrial activity of the last two centuries.

The forests of India had long been protected by their inaccessibility, by virulent diseases, and savage wild beasts. They were but sparsely habited by races such as Khonds and Bhils, who had acquired or inherited immunity against the more deadly fevers, and had learnt to avoid or defend themselves against tigers and other living terrors.

The clearing of trees for cultivation and domestic needs made but little impression on the vast areas of forest in days when population was hardly expanding.

By the middle of the eighteenth century the attention of the East India Company was attracted to the commercial possibilities of tropical timbers, and more especially to the need of supplies of suitable wood for the building and maintenance of their sailing ships. The earliest surveyors were commissioned to report on what they might find on their distant wanderings.

Ships were being built both in Bombay and Calcutta, and even in Burma. Rennell notes in 1788 that

> Teak ships of 40 years old and upwards are no uncommon objects in the Indian seas, while an European-built ship is ruined there in five years. The ships built at Bombay are best.

In the same year Michael Topping reports that he had secured

> a small well-built cutter of about 30 tons burthen.... This vessel is quite new, having been launched about three months ago at Pegu, where she was constructed of the very best teak timber.... after an English model.

Rennell was quick to recognize the importance of the timber growth of the Himalayan foothills, and on his journey up the Brahmaputra to the Assam border in 1765 notes that the Manas river

> affords so short a Passage to the Boutan Mountains, ... there is no doubt but that any Number of Firr Trees may be brought down by it, if a right understanding subsisted between our People and the Assamers, as I have myself seen a large Firr Tree which floated down the River, after being washed down the Mountains by the Land Floods.

On crossing the Tista further west in the following year, he

> perceived pieces of different kinds of Trees lying on the Sands in the River; these the Countrey People informed me are brought down from the Boutan Mountains by the Freshes; amongst many other kinds of fine Timber I perceived the stump of a Firr Tree, of which I brought away several pieces.

The same year De Gloss received orders to survey the Gandak river north of Patna, the Council having

> appointed one of the Company's servants .... to examine the River Gandak, and report on Fir Trees from the Butea country. Being of opinion that it would be of great use to the Public if we could be supplied with Fir Tree Timbers by means of the River Ganduc which empties itself into the Ganges opposite to Patna, ... we direct .... some of the largest Trees to be sent down to Calcutta.

Teak was in great demand, though the Indian timber was not of such high quality as that of Burma. Between 1786 and 1788, Lennon, of the Madras Engineers, spent some time on a survey of the Godavari whilst stationed at Masulipatam, asking no reward beyond "the privilege of sending down Teak Timbers". He had to abandon his survey after severe attacks of fever which drove him on a sea voyage to China, and in 1792 Michael Topping was called on to make an intensive survey of the Godavari and Kistna rivers:

> The Inland navigation of the Rajahmundry Circar is not known to us. It would therefore be of the utmost consequence to Survey their channels in the dry Season, examine their Depths again in the freshes, and in intermediate periods, when a judgment could be formed, not only of the improvements they are capable of affording to the Cultivation of the Lands, but what use they could be in facilitating the intercourse of place to place, and bringing productions of the higher parts down to the Sea.
>
> One very great object is floating down *Teak,* which grows on the higher Banks of the *Godavery,* and might thus be brought by Water to the Sea for the Company's use, and from thence transported to Madras or Bengal.

It was Burma teak that was used in Madras for making up the gun-carriages required for the war against Tipu in Mysore. Topping was given "an order for making up sixteen 18-pounder Gun carriages, and the ships with timber from Pegu are just arrived."

Teak was reported from the Mahanadi, and the Surveyor General writes in 1808:

From the conversation I had with Rear Admiral Drury on the subject of Timber in the Forests, I am induced to represent the great benefit that would arise to the Public from sending a Surveyor into the Teak Forests on the Banks of the Mohanuddy and Taillee Rivers in Cuttack, as from the Report of Captain Sealy, who accompanied Lieut.-Colonel Broughton's detachment to Sambalpure, large quantities may be drawn from those Woods.

The question I wish to propose.... is the propriety of sending, together with an Officer who should Survey the Rivers in question, a Gentleman conversant in Naval Architecture, who will be able to determine whether Timber fit to build large ships is, or is not, procurable in this province, and as we have lately, in the Conquered Provinces of Meerut and Saharanpore, obtained possession of a large Tract of Forrest Land through which several Streams run into the Jumna and Ganges, it might be well worth the small expense that will be incurred to have them examined in the first instance in a cursory manner, and if found worthy of attention they may hereafter be more particularly surveyed next dry season.

There is time enough to make an excursion into the Forrests before the Rains. In Cuttack the Hot Season is the best to visit the Jungles. and I believe it is so to the Northward, although in the North-East parts of our possessions they are considered as unhealthy after the end of March.

Sealy made the survey down the Mahanadi, and the following year Sackville took up the survey of Cuttack Province, the Surveyor General directing him,

when you approach the Forests, ...make particular enquiries concerning the Species of Timber they contain, and the possibility there is of removing it during the Rains. Teak certainly grows on the banks of the Mohanuddy, or of some of the Streams that flow into it. This being the most valuable of all Indian Timber, as soon as you discover it in any Quantity, it should be reported, and also whether the natives will willingly undertake to cut and transport it, for, if there is a reasonable prospect of being able to obtain it of a good size, and at a moderate expense, it will be well worth while to cause the Forests to be minutely explored.

Sackville wrote in 1810 that he had "already reported that these forests abound with Teak; the general dimensions of the Trees we have already seen have been very large." In Saharanpur and Rohilkhand Dr. Rutherford, of the medical service, was appointed "Agent for Timbers", a post he held for several years. When Hodgson was surveying that area in 1813 he writes from Moradabad:

From Conversation I have had with the Civil Officers here, and more particularly with Dr. Rutherford, the Agent for Timbers, ... I hear the Frontier is so little defined as to give rise to continued disputes

> with the Hill Chiefs, and it appears now an object of Importance to define these limits, on which, and indeed beyond them, grow those valuable forests, which now by Mr. Rutherford's exertions supply the whole of the unwrought timbers for the Artillery, great quantities of hemp, and other articles.
>
> Mr. Rutherford's concerns obliging him to traverse all parts of the northern frontiers, and the hills and vallies beyond it, he is probably better informed on all subjects connected with their resources.... of value than any other person.... He informs me that in the Kyraghur district particularly (but in all the north-eastern pergunnahs generally) these tracts, ...whatever they may be on the score of revenue, are highly valuable on that of the forests of noble timbers which grow there.

There are frequent references to the *sal* tree, *shorea robusta,* but though this is now the most valuable timber of the Dehra Dun, Gerard records in 1818 that

> Large Sal timber is scarce, being only found in Rajbur, west of the Jumna, and near Lukurghat. The grass and Surkhunda jungle grows to a great height, and affords cover to Elephants, Tigers, Leopards, Bears, Hogs, and Dear, with which the valley abounds.

That interesting "adventurer", Hearsey, who had a plot of rent-free land in Rohilkhand, got into trouble for levying duty "on Timbers and Bamboos floating down the Ganges," even after "the articles in question had passed the limits of his Jageer." Colebroke also tells of bands of robbers on the Rohilkhand border who "levy undue exactions from the Hill people who graze their Cattle in this part of the Country and lay a tax on all the Timbers which are cut in the Forest".

When sent to survey the Sundarbans, Morrieson was directed "to have the Jungles carefully described, and.... to.... note on the map the Species of wood that is produced, and whether it is large or small," and a certain amount of revenue was drawn by levy on the firewood brought into Calcutta.

When, in 1800, the Company's botanist, Dr. Heyne, was sent up to study the natural history of Mysore, and to open a botanical garden at Bangalore, he was directed

> to give due attention to the timber employed in the various provinces, ...and to the possibility of introducing the growth of useful trees into such of our provinces as are deficient in that necessary produce.

This is the only suggestion for the planting of trees that has been found, and indeed the time to think of re-afforestation had not arrived. There was also at this time no suggestion of any need for protecting or conserving the forests. The extension of cultivation was warmly

encouraged at the expense of forest or jungle, that was generally regarded as waste, so long as the newly won lands came under the notice of the revenue officers. Fruit trees, such as cocoanut and betel palms, were in most places subject to enumeration and assessment for revenue.

A great deal was done by the Bombay Government to develop forest resources along the west coast, and in 1801 they report that they had started a survey of the teak forests of Malabar under Mr. Machonochie, to ascertain the quantity and size of timber suitable for ship-building purposes. In 1805 they appointed "a Committee to Survey the Teak Forests in the Province of Malabar, ... to report the growth and availableness of the Forests," and Johnson, of the Engineers, was placed in charge. He was reported "to possess much local information of the state and resources of the Timber Forests" and was given a contract for the extraction of the timber;

> Government having a pledge in the established character of that officer far better than the pecuniary security of any speculative adventurer, that the trust reposited in him will not be perverted to any purpose foreign to the public good.

He held this contract till 1808, working for more than a year "on crutches, having been severely cut while felling Teak." His survey was carried on for another year by Samuel Goodfellow, also of the Engineers.

In 1807, Captain Thomas Thatcher was appointed to survey and report on the forests of Dharampur State, to the east of Daman and Bulsar. He reported

> that there is a great abundance of Teak .... in the Raj Peepla country, ... but .... the difficulties of conveyance are so great that the merchants are compelled to saw Trees from 30 to 80 yards long into logs of from 10 to 15 yards., which are conveyed about 15 miles to the nearest channel leading to the River Nurbudda ....
>
> I have explored .... into the Dhurmpore Country. Having been for the last 15 years exposed to the Merchants on every part of the coast, and to the Ship Builders of Damaun, who require their valuable timber, and who have been allowed indiscriminately to [work] without hindrance, [pay]ing only a duty of Half a Ruppe to the Rajah .... the Jungles contiguous to the N.-W. coast have been almost completely deprived of their finest trees. Towards the Eastward there are few signs of the Axe's destructive power, and nearer the Ghaats the forests have been protected by the savagery of the Bheels, who almost entirely live by plunder.

His assistant, Robert Campbell, concludes his report;

> Conveying Timber by these Rivers, therefore, if at all practicable, would be very laborious, and the expense would exceed the charge of conveying it on carts, the only mode adopted by the natives to bring their wood from the Forests.
>
> The Maun and Oorongo streams may safely be pronounced totally incapable of answering the purposes that called forth their examination, excepting to the distance of 3 miles 4 furlongs from the ferry of Bulsaur (to the Eastward) and 2 miles from thence to the Sea.
>
> The quantity and size of Teak Trees increased from Neerpun to Yewar, and from the village of Rasheer to thence there is plenty of sound wood of the 2nd class.
>
> In the forests of Peepla, Ramdass, and Kollybell, in the vicinity of Yewur, by all accounts there is great abundance of fine Teak, of the 1st Sort and Class.
>
> Yewur is a large village on the Northern Maun River, under the jurisdiction of Soolgauma. There are 2 Bunnia shops in it.

Thatcher's final report, dated 14 November 1807, held out little prospect of extracting the timber with any profit;

> In conformity to the Instructions, ... 8th Aug. last, to ascertain the [suitability] of the Bulsaur River to float logs of timber from the Jungle contiguous to that stream towards the Sea, I have now the honour to .... transmit you the particulars of Lt. Campbell's examination of that River, with the impediments that render it totally incapable of answering the purposes that were expected.
>
> After assuring myself that the Bulsaur River was not navigable for rafts or single logs of wood, I immediately turned my attention to the Chicklee (or Cauvaru) River, tracing it upwards as far towards the source as timber can be floated, and finding that this stream was only navigable for Rafts of wood from the sea to this place [Whoree], and the impediments above this were very numerous, and similar in every respect to those in the Bulsaur River, I relinquished the further examination of this stream with the view of inspecting the Nowsawry River before the cessation of the waters, which I am sorry to add has proved incapable of floating rafts or single logs of wood, owing to the numerous rocks in its bed.

In April 1811 the Surveyor General, Monier Williams, was deputed to survey the "forest between Parnella and the Nerbudda, particularly the large one of Ramnaghur," that lay further north. He reports that

> between the beginning of April and the beginning of June 1811, I was actively employed on a personal examination of the teak forests lying between Bombay and the Nerbudda, and on gaining information of the mode in use of cutting and transporting the timber to the sea coast.

His report was forwarded to the Directors

> as a document that concentrates in a very able manner a comprehesive and satisfactory view of the valuable sources whence Timber of the

most useful description can be derived for the supply of the Dockyard at this Presidency.

These few extracts have been mostly taken from the archives of the Survey of India, and some have appeared, in part, in volume I of the *Historical Records* of that department. The Forest Department, and "other Minor Scientific Departments" of the Government of India were not founded till very many years later, and till then such scientific pursuits as botany, forestry, geology, and meteorology, were left to those surveyors and medical men as happened to be interested. The archives must surely contain records of the early beginnings of such work, that would be of immense interest if gathered together and published by writers professionally qualified. Colonel Young's account of *The East India Company's Arsenals and Manufactories* may be quoted as an example of a how it can be done.

THE OFFICIAL ARCHIVES OF NORWAY DURING THE WAR*

GENERALLY speaking the Archives pursued their work without impediment during the war; nevertheless hostilities did occasion some dislocations.

The Central Archives of the Kingdom (Riksarkivet), which is housed in a building adjacent to the old fortress of Oslo, was closed by the Germans on 12 April 1940, on the pretext of preventing anything being carried away from it. As a fact, however, the Germans tried a good deal to discover the whereabouts of the documents, but without success. The permission to reopen the building was not granted till May 3; in the meantime no work was possible to be done.

Two of the five "Provincial Archives of State" (Statsarkiv), those of Bergen and Kristiansand, had been occupied immediately after 9 April 1940. Nevertheless, at these two places the employees were permitted to remove elsewhere what they required to carry on their work. At Bergen the building continued to be under German occupation throughout the war; that of Kristiansand was released in December 1940, but at the beginning of 1942 was requisitioned over again and after this date the Archives of Kristiansand were bodily removed to Oslo. The provincial Archives (Statsarkivet) of Oslo saw the most part of their depots requisitioned by the Norwegian administrative authorities (D.C.A. civile). They had to decide to shift some portion of the archives to some other place.

A villa in Oslo belonging to the Archives of the Kingdom and where a considerable part of the latest records was housed, was requisitioned by the Germans in the spring of 1942. A fresh shifting became necessary; the building had to be vacated in a few days. But, for once, this step proved salutary and proved fortunate for the records, because five months later the very building was destroyed during an aerial bombardment by the English.

With the exception of this building no other institutions belonging to the Archives suffered any loss or serious damage through enemy action. Nevertheless, it may be added that a considerable amount of the archival materials not yet transferred to the Government Archives have certainly been lost during the destruction of our towns and the countryside. It is still too early to give an exact idea or even a brief note as to the general significance of these losses.

A plan for the evacuation of the most precious of the "Archives of the Kingdom" and of the "Provincial Archives of the State" of Oslo and

*Received through the courtesy of Mr. Asgaut Steinnes, State Archivist, Oslo, and published by kind permission.

of Kristiansand was carefully prepared and planned during the war. But the lightning speed of the operations paralysed the execution of these precautionary measures. This evacuation which was practically impossible to carry out at Oslo was practicable at Kristiansand, but only to a limited extent. The sequence of events showed that several of the places which were kept in view for shelter were often more exposed, being in the centre of the military operations, than the Archives repositories themselves.

The staff of the Archives of the Kingdom found it possible to resume their work in May 1940. At first there was no possibility of removing anything, and shifting operations were confined to the transfer of some portion of the archives to the interior part of the building so that the most valuable items were stored in the lower floors. At the same time safety measures for the protection of the offices and cellars, upper stories, windows, walls, etc., were reinforced. Later on in 1941-42 when removal could be effected, the most important, selected and assorted documents were stored in different places in Oslo and its neighbourhood, not because these places were in themselves safer in any way, but because the measures minimized the risks of total destruction of these archives.

In the beginning of 1943 a very largescale evacuation was planned and put into execution; this plan comprised the major part of the documents of all the departments of the official archives. According to this plan an underground cellar was secured on the rock in one of the silver mines of Kongsberg. That very summer arrangement was made for the transfer of such collections from the Archives of the Kingdom and from the provincial Archives of the State as were valuable and of current use. These series were stored in such a way that they could be used constantly. "The Archives Office of the Kongensgruve (Royal Mine)" began to function in August 1943 and continued to function till the German capitulations. This office was built on a two kilometre flank of the same mountain, and was electrically lighted, warmed and ventilated. It contained galleries large enough to allow the shifting of about one-tenth of the collections of all official archives. Besides, provision was also made for a work-room for the Archives staff. The office was busy with research work and used to supply on written application extracts or photographs made on narrow films. Finally a reading-room with four seats was arranged and it was always busy.

A very large portion of the collections of the official archives did not find a place in the depot of the Royal Mine. For the archives as well as their storage equipments evacuated by the offices of the Central administration under the initiative of the Director-General of the Archives of the Kingdom, the places selected under the plan of evacuation already referred to like churches built of stone, funeral chapels in the countryside,

etc., were utilised as shelters. Chests containing archives were stacked there along the walls and near the entrances in such a manner that official work could be carried on without causing difficulty or complication. The evacuation of all the archives into the churches was continued during the spring and summer of 1943 and it was completed in September 1943.

People could hardly believe that these cases so carefully stacked contained only old documents, and the rumour was current that they were in fact depots of ammunition. Only one case of theft is known involving, however, only one volume. This is the only definite instance of loss from our archives that has been attested by the official organization of our Archives during the war.

Neither the German occupation authorities nor the Quisling administrator ever paid any particular attention to the archives. In February 1944, however, the Chief Archivist of the provincial Archives of the State of Trondheim was removed from office and a subordinate employee of the Archives who was found to be the only Nazi among the whole of the archivist personnel was appointed Chief Archivist by Quisling. On 26 August 1944, the Archives of the Kingdom were closed and two employees were arrested by the German police who were informed that a clandestine group of the resistant forces had concealed some documents in the Archives. It may be interesting to observe precisely that these compromising papers had been removed before the arrival of the police. Nevertheless when they discovered some "illegal" printed papers during the course of a long and careful search, the Director-General of the Archives of the Kingdom was arrested and he had to spend about five months in a concentration camp. The order for closing, which had been served upon the Archives of the Kingdom was withdrawn at the end of two months, but the reading-room could not be thrown open to the public until April 1945.

In Autumn 1945 when the southern regions of Norway once again became the theatre of war and when the danger of new military operations seemed to threaten also the rest of the country, the work of duplicating the most important collections was undertaken. This work included the coastal plans and parish registers. It was carried out by photographic reproduction on films. The execution of this delicate task was taken up again after the German capitulation.

SURVEY OF HISTORICAL DOCUMENTS OF THE UNITED PROVINCES*

TARA CHAND

Chairman, Research & Publication Committee of the Indian Historical Records Commission

THE study of history in an objective and scientific manner is comparatively recent in India. Ancient historical writing was inextricably bound up with mythology, folk lore and theological speculation. During the Middle Ages the chroniclers were mainly interested in the life and fortunes of the occupants of the throne and history is hard to distinguish from the biography of the great. Time has now come when the historian's attention is focussed on the people, their ways of living and manners, their aspirations and achievements, their economic welfare and political progress.

But not only has the outlook of the professional historian changed, social attitudes have changed and a new curiosity concerning the past and a longing to know the truth about it have begun to move the minds of man. The historian of today has therefore a potential ally of great value in the accomplishment of his new task. In this situation it is important that co-operation between the historical investigator and the public should be established so that the one may stimulate the other and through their joint efforts the past may be revealed in its fullest extent.

The Indian Historical Records Commission has undertaken the organization of this important task. Under its aegis Regional Committees have been established. The aim of the Commission and its Committees is to establish contacts between the scholars and the public, and to arouse interest so that the discovery of the past may become a popular pursuit and the preservation of records the concern of every Indian interested in the history of the country.

In our country this work is new, and we have to learn a great deal from the West concerning the methods used to advance historical studies. In England every district (county) has its historical society and many persons following different avocations in life are enthusiastic archaeologists and archivists. They have built up by their patient and honorary labour, histories of local regions, institutions, families, noted personalities, religious and educational establishments, buildings, roads and other monuments.

*Broadcast from the Lucknow Station of All India Radio in 1946 on behalf of the Regional Survey Committee, United Provinces.

Similar societies are at work in France, in Germany, the United States of America and other lands.

India is a country the length of whose past and the variety and abundance of the historical activity of whose people are unique in the story of the human race. A vast army of workers is needed to garner the historical material which lies scattered. There are numerous old and respected families who have in their possession quantities of such material in the form of letters, diaries, manuscripts, firmans, sanads, legal documents. perhaps ornaments, utensils, clothes, arms, furniture; numerous business firms whose records contain information concerning economic conditions in the old days, prices of commodities, wages of artisans and labourers, family budgets, rates of interest, methods of exchange and credit; numerous temples, mosqes, religious and charitable establishments whose books and papers could throw a great deal of light on religious, social and economic conditions of the bygone times.

Traditions, folk tales, stories pass from mouth to mouth and generation to generation, and in them while there may be much chaff, solid grains of truth may be found which will provide grist to the mill of scholarship. Then again old buildings, whether distinguished by grandeur or common place dwellings have their own information to impart, how the internal economy of the old homes was organized and what were the manners of their inhabitants. Even old lanes and streets in the town and their layout and the names they bear and the houses they contain have an interest for the historian.

Then there is the more recent past, the vicissitudes of the eighteenth century and after, when an old and picturesque civilization died and from its ashes a new world which is still in the making arose. Every town and hamlet contains some poignant associations and remanants of this tremendous resolution. The future will not forgive us if we do not collect all available mementoes of this age. They lie hidden in documents and in the memories of men, and though the former may escape the destructive ravages of weather and insect and the neglect or worse of men, the former, alas, are fast disappearing in the limbo of forgetfulness.

All this vast and valuable material demands our earnest and urgent attention. And the Historical Records Commission has wisely decided to take up the task. Realising the great magnitude and the national character of the work it has set up an organization consisting of a number of Regional Committees in the British Indian Provinces and in a number of Indian States. On these Committees are represented universities, learned societies, scholars, Government officers, and such public men as are interested and are likely to be helpful.

The Regional Committee of the United Provinces has formed sub-

committees in all the Universities and some other important centres in order that the talent available in the locality may be utilized for local investigation. These sub-committees are authorized to co-opt members and to accept any one who is desirous of participating in their work and advancing the aims of the Commission. The Committees are voluntary and non-official associations of workers in a common cause. Their members are united together in the one aim of pursuing truth and unravelling the past. It calls upon all those who take pride in the past of our people and desire it to be faithfully recorded to assist in the task.

The Government of India have offered their help and placed some modest funds at our disposal for necessary expenses. They have also allowed the Committee to survey the historical material in their possession. The provincial Government has taken up an equally helpful attitude. The Governor of the United Provinces has promised full support to the Committee, and has instructed the District Magistrates to allow the members of the Regional Committee to examine the district records and to help them to contact the old and prominent families in their jurisdiction.

The Regional Committee of the United Provinces started functioning in 1945. The Committee has not only established sub-committees in different centres, it has compiled a list of principal sources of historical material available in some of these centres. The sub-committees have now to allot to their members specific tasks in connection with the list. But in these matters the members of these Committees have very largely to depend upon the willing co-operation of the public. The scholars are ready to give their time. In fact some valuable firmans and sanads have already been studied, copied and translated. When they are published they will be a valuable contribution to the understanding of the religious policies of the Moghal Emperors. But infinitely more work remains to be done. Success however depends upon the enlightened and enthusiastic co-operation of the people who are in possession of historically valuable material. In the interest of Indian scholarship and national culture it is imperative that they should act with generosity and make available the material they have.

The Regional Survey Committees have three great objects. The first object is to make a survey of historical material or, in other words, to compile exhaustive catalogues of such material. These catalogues when compiled will be systematically classified and scientifically edited. The place where each document mentioned in the catalogue is to be found will be specified. It will thus be possible for future students to know at a glance where the materials relating to their subjects are to be found. The research scholars will thus be spared a good deal of time and expense.

It would of course be an ideal state of affairs if these documents could be acquired and placed in the central, provincial, state or local archives for then it would not be necessary for the student to run about from one end of the country to another in order to consult the material relating to his subject. It would be regarded as a valuable gift to the nation if people could present the important historical documents in their possession to historical archives. It is possible, however, that there will be people who would not want to part with their documents. In such cases, the Committee's objects would be served if it could be allowed to get copies made of such documents as are of historical importance. The Survey Committees hope that no one will withhold anything that belongs to the country, for by so doing he will be retarding the growth of historical knowledge and thus of culture.

The second great object of the Survey Committees is the preservation of historical material. This is a very important task and the sooner it is taken in hand the better. The neglect of this work has already done irreparable damage, for good deal of historical material has been destroyed leaving wide gaps in our knowledge which in many cases can never be filled. Historical documents are as frail as they are precious. The effect of climate, damp and heat and cold leads in time to the decay of documents. In many cases they are eaten up by insects. Science has taught us many methods of preserving documents, of preventing their decay by natural causes. To many archives are attached laboratories where old and decaying documents are treated by various scientific processes and given a fresh lease of life. The Preservation Section of the Imperial Record Department, New Delhi, is an instance in point. The Survey Committee proposes in course of time to try to get such laboratories attached to the regional archives where old documents are kept. The documents which are handed over to the Survey Committees will certainly be saved from decay. But as the Committees are interested in the safety of all historical material, they will be willing to explain the methods of preservation to such people as are unwilling to part with the documents in their possession. It is to be hoped that such people will realise the importance of this work and get into touch with the Survey Committees for necessary advice and assistance.

The third great object of the Survey Committee is to make arrangements for the study and interpretation of the material made available to them. It is with this aim in view that the Committees have been so constituted as to include a large number of scholars of history. It is contemplated that each Committee should publish articles every year embodying the results of their search. These articles will be published in the journals, periodicals and newspapers in the country. It is also

proposed that each sub-committee should draw up a report at the end of each year showing the net results of its activities. These reports are expected to be extremely valuable, for in them will be mentioned the principal historical discoveries of the year. The articles and the reports will together constitute a rich and valuable source of historical material to historians engaged in reconstructing the various periods and aspects of our past.

What has been said above is but a very brief indication of the aims and objects underlying the great Survey Organisation that is being slowly but surely built up in the country. All great ends it is said have small beginnings. It is to be hoped that the few unostentatious Survey Committees that have come into existence during the last two years will in the very near future come to be regarded as the nucleus of a vast National Organization engaged unremittingly in the task of discovering, collecting, organizing and interpreting the huge mass of historical material that lies forgotten in the country, and thus building up a comprehensive and scientific History of India in all the varied fields of our activity. Such an achievement will be truly worthy of our best endeavours.

The workers who engage themselves in this work will have to travel from door to door and village to village in the hope that at some solitary house in some solitary village they will come across an old and forgotten document throwing light upon some obscure recess of our past. And the find will have to be their recompense for all their sacrifices and pains. They will have to battle against prejudice, superstitution and ignorance. They will have to contend with ridicule and contumely. But if they can brave all these hazards they will have to their credit an achievement of which the generations that are to come in the future will be for ever proud. Like the unknown warrior their individual names may be forgotten, but the History of India will stand as a noble and lasting memorial to their achievement.

A REPORT ON THE MANUSCRIPTS IN INDIAN REPOSITORIES*

RAJENDRA LALA MITRA

UNDER the orders of Government, my attention has been steadily directed—1st, to enquire and collect information regarding rare and valuable manuscripts; 2nd, to compile lists thereof; 3rd, to print all procurable unprinted lists of such codices, with brief notices of their contents; 4th, to purchase, or secure copies of, such of them as are rare or otherwise desirable.

Enquiry for MSS: Places visited

The work under the first head has been mainly conducted by a Pandit, who has been deputed to the Mufassil to visit the different private Tols or Sanskrit colleges and private gentlemen who are reputed to possess collections of Sanskrit MSS.; and I have been out on several occasions to help him. I have also been to Benares on three occasions to enquire for and purchase MSS. The places visited by the Pandit include the districts of Dacca, Nadiya, Bardhwan, Hoogly, and 24-Pergunnahs. The large collections of Raja Yatindramohan Thakur, of the late Sir Raja Radhakant Dev, of the late Babu Ramkomal Sen, of the late Raja Pitambar Mitra, of Babu Subaldasa Mallik, and of others in Calcutta, have also been examined. In Dacca Pandits are the only owners of MSS., no private gentlemen have anything like a large collection, and the few works they have being mostly such as have already been printed. In Nadiya the library of the Raja of Krishnanagar contains the largest number of Tantras; but at the time when my Pandit visited it the MSS. were kept in a very neglected state, and most of them were found to be defective. In Bardhwan there are not many Tols, but Babu Hitalal Misra of Manakara has a very choice collection of works, including a great number of very rare treatieses on the Vedanta. In Hoogly the Serampur College has a small, but valuable, collection of MSS., procured principally by the late Dr. Carey, and there are also a few Tols owning MSS. In the 24-Pergunnahs several zemindars have good collections of the Tantras and the Puranas; and the numerous Tols on the left bank of the River Hoogly, and at Harinabhi and elsewhere, contain many old and rare works of which very little is known to European Orientalists. There are no Maths (monasteries) in any of the districts named which contain a

*Reprinted from *Papers relating to the Collection and Preservation of the Records of Ancient Sanskrit Literature in India,* Ed. Archibald Edward Gough, Calcutta, 1878; pp. 14-22.

collection of Sanskrit works; not even the Math attached to the great temple of Tarakesvara in the Hoogly district is noted for its literary treasures. The case is, however, different in Rajshahi, Maimansing, Pabna, Tirhut, and Orissa, where some of the Maths own large collections of great age and considerable value.

Substance of MSS.: Paper

The manuscripts examined are mostly written on country paper, sized with yellow arsenic and an emulsion of tamarind seeds, and then polished by rubbing with a conch-shell. A few are on white Kasmiri paper, and some on palm-leaf. White arsenic is rarely used for the size, but I have seen a few codices sized with it, the mucilage employed in such cases being acacia gum. The surface of ordinary country paper being rough, a thick coating of size is necessary for easy writing, and the tamarind-seed emulsion affords this admirably. The paper used for ordinary writing is sized with rice-gruel, but such paper attracts damp and vermin of all kinds, and that great pest of literature the "silver-fish" thrives luxuriantly on it. The object of the arsenic is to keep off this insect, and it serves the purpose most effectually. No insect or worm of any kind will attack arsenicised paper, and so far the MSS. are perfectly secure against its ravages. The superior appearance and cheapness of European paper has of late induced many persons to use it, instead of the country arsenicised paper, in writing *pothis;* but this is a great mistake, as the latter is not nearly so durable as the former, and is liable to be rapidly destroyed by insects. I cannot better illustrate this than by referring to some of the MSS. in the library of the Asiatic Society. There are among them several volumes written on foolscap paper which date from 1820 to 1830, and they already look decayed, moldering and touched in several places by silver-fish. Others on John-letter paper, which is thicker, larger, and stouter, are already so far injured, that the ink has quite faded and become in many places illegible; whereas the MSS. which were originally copied on arsenicised paper for the College of Fort William in the first decade of this century, are now quite as fresh as they were when first written. I have seen many MSS. in private collections which are much older and still quite as fresh. This fact would suggest the propriety of Government records in Mufassil Courts being written on arsenicised paper, instead of the ordinary English foolscap, which is so rapidly destroyed both by the climate and also by white-ants. To guard against mistakes, I should add here that the ordinary yellow paper sold in the bazars is dyed with turmeric, and is not at all proof against the attack of insects.

History of Paper

It is well known that originally the Hindus used leaves of trees for writing upon, whence the name of letters in Sanskrit has become *pattra,* and latterly newspapers have been designated by the same name. The oldest manuscript on paper I have seen is a copy of the Bhagavatapurana, now in the possession of Babu Harischandra of Benares. It bears date Samvat 1367=A.C. 1310, and is consequently 565 years old. Its paper is of a very good quality; and judging from it, it is to be inferred that the people of the country must have, at the time when it was written, attained considerable proficiency in paper-making. Long before that time, in the reign of Bhoja Raja of Dhara, a work was written on letter-writing (the *Prasastiprakasika*) and in it detailed directions are given for folding the material of letters, for leaving a large space on the left side of such letters as margin, for cutting a portion of the left lower corner, for decorating the front with gold-leaf, for writing the word 'Sri' a number of times on the back, &c., &c.—all which apply to paper, and cannot possibly be practicable on palm-leaf; and the inference therefore becomes inevitable, that paper was then well-known and in general use, though the word used to indicate it was *pattra,* probably very much in the same way as paper of the present day owes its name to papyrus. Again, a verse occurs in the Samhita of Vyasa, which must be at least two thousand years old, in which it is said "that the first draft of a document should be written on a wooden tablet, or on the ground, and after correction of what is redundant and supplying what is defective, it should be engrossed on *pattra;*" and it would be absured to suppose that *pattra* here means leaf, for leaves were so cheap, that it would have been a folly to save them by writing on wooden tablets, which were much more costly. How long before the time of this verse paper was known, I have no positive evidence to shew; but the frequent mention in the old Smritis of legal documents (*lekhya*), of their attestation by witnesses, of their validity, &c., suggests the idea of their having been extant in olden times some material more substantial and convenient than palm-leaf for writing; and knowing that paper was first manufactured by the Chinese, long before the commencement of the Christian era, that the famous *charta bombycina* of Europe was imported from the East, and that block-printing was extensively practised in Tibet in the fourth century, I am disposed to believe that the Hindus must have known the art of paper-making from a very early date. Whether they originated it, or got it from the Chinese through the Tibetans, or the Kasmiris, who have been noted for their proficiency in the art of making paper and papier-maché ware, is a question which must await further research for solution.

A priori it may be argued that those who manipulated cotton so successfully as to convert it into the finest fabric known to man, would find no difficulty in manufacturing paper out of it.

Palm-leaf

The palm-leaf referred to above is not now much in use, except in Orissa, and in the Mufassil vernacular schools, as a substitute for slates. In Bengal the Chandi is the only work which is now-a-days written on palm-leaf, as there is a prejudice against the formal reading of that work from paper MSS.—a prejudice in many respects similar to what obtained in Europe against printed Bibles in the first century after the introduction of printing. Formerly two kinds of palm-leaf were in use; one formed of the thick, strong-fibred leaflets of the *Corypha taliera* (*tiret*), and the other of the *Borassus flabelliformis* (*talapata*). The former is generally preferred for writing Sanskrit works; as it is broader and more durable than the latter, and many MSS. are still extant which reckon their ages by five to six hundred years. The leaflet of the *Corypha elata* is sometimes used in lieu of those of the *taliera*. The leaflets of all the three kinds of palms are first dried then boiled or kept steeped in water for some time; then dried again, cut into the required size, and polished with a smooth stone or a conch-shell. For school use no such preparation is necessary.

Bark

The practice of writing on bark is of the greatest antiquity, and, from constant use, the Greek and the Latin terms for that substance,—*biblos* and *liber*,—have long since become the names for books, even as the name of the rolls of ancient parchment MSS. produced the term *volume*, and codes of laws have received their generic name from the bundles of boards on which they they were written,—from *codex*, a tablet of wood. In the eastern districts this practice of writing on bark still prevails, and I have seen several codices of bark which formed thin sheets like veneer, eighteen inches by four; but I have not been able to ascertain from what species of tree the articles had been obtained. Some say that the tree called *ugra* (*Morunga hyperanthera*) yields the best bark for writing upon; but I have not seen it. The birch bark, Bhurjapattra (*Betula bhurja*), is extensively used as a material for writing upon; but only for amulets, it being too thin and fragile for books. I have by me a piece of this bark about a hundred years old, which, on a space of ten inches by eight, contains the whole of the Bhagavadgìta, written with letters so small that they are illegible to the naked eye, and require a magnifying glass to be read. It was evidently intended to

be worn as an amulet enclosed in a locket of gold or copper, but it had never been so used. Whether the bhurj bark was ever pasted or glued into thick sheets I cannot say.

Wood, Metal, and Skin

In the Sastras tablets of wood and metal have been recommended as materials for writing upon, and in former times copper-plates were usually employed for royal patents, and in Burmah they are still occasionally used for writing large works; but I have seen none now used by the Pandits of Bengal. Wooden tablets are confined to petty traders' account-books in Bengal; but in the North-Western Provinces poor people have some religious books written with chalk on blackened boards. In the Lalitavistara, or 'Legendary Life of Buddha', mention is made of sandal-wood boards which were handed to Sakya when he first commenced to write. In Europe parchment and dressed skins of goats have been from time immemorial used as materials for books, and for durability they stand unrivalled; but I have never seen mention in Indian works of parchment, or dressed skin of any kind, as material for writing; and palimpsests are, of course, unknown.

Pens

According to the Yoginitantra, bamboo twigs and bronze styles are unfortunate, and gold and reeds are the best for pens; but the universal practice among the Pandits of Bengal is to use the bamboo twig for pens, and only rich householders employ the *vrinnala* or *khakra* reed. In the North-Western Provinces the reed or calamus, whence the Indian word *kalama*, is generally used, and bamboo pens are all but unknown. The latter however, when well-prepared, is much more elastic and durable, and it has the further and supreme advantage of being everywhere procurable without any cost. Crow-quills were formerly used for writing very small characters for amulets, but never for ordinary manuscripts. In Orissa, where letters are scratched, and not written, on palm-leaves, an iron style with a pointed end and a flat top everywhere replaces the bamboo twig and the calamus reed.

Ordinary Ink

The ink used for writing *pothis* is of two kinds: one fit for paper, and the other for palm-leaves. The former is made by mixing a coffee-coloured infusion of roasted rice with lamp-black, and then adding to it a little sugar, and sometimes the juice of a plant called *kesurte* (*Verbesina scandens*). The labour of making this ink is great, as it requires several days' continued trituration in a mortar before the lamp-

black can be thoroughly mixed with the rice infusion, and want of sufficient trituration causes the lamp-black to settle down in a paste, leaving the infusion on top unfit for writing with. Occasionally acacia gum is added to give a gloss to the ink; but this practice is not common, sugar being held sufficient for the purpose. Of late, an infusion of the emblic myrobalan, prepared in an iron pot, has occasionally been added to the ink; but the tannate and gallate of iron formed in the course of preparing this infusion are injurious to the texture of paper, and Persian MSS., sometimes written with such ink, suffer much from the chemical action of the metallic salts.

The ink for palm-leaf consists of the juice of the *kesurte,* mixed with a decoction of *alta.* It is highly esteemed, as it sinks into the substance of the leaf and cannot be washed off. Both the inks are very lasting, and being perfectly free from mineral substances and strong acids, do not in any way injure the substance of the paper or leaf to which they are applied. They never fade, and retain their gloss for centuries.

Coloured Ink

To mark the ends of chapters, and for writing rubrics, colophons, and important words on paper, an ink made of cinnabar, or *alta,* is sometimes used; and in correcting errors the usual practice is to apply on the wrong letters a colour made of yellow or red orpiment ground in gum-water, and, when it is dry, to write over it. Omissions of entire words and sentences, of course, cannot be rectified in this way, and they have therefore to be supplied by writing on the margin. Interlineation is generally avoided; but in old MSS., which have been read and revised by several generations, they are not altogether wanting. In commentaries the quotations from texts are generally smeared over with a little red ochre, which produces the same effect which red letters in European MSS. were intended to subserve; whence the term 'rubric' got into currency. These peculiarities, however, are more prominent in the MSS. of the North-Western Provinces than in those of Bengal, and in palm-leaf codices they are generally wanting, except in Burmah, where some sacred Pali works are written with a thick black varnish on palm-leaves, throughout richly gilt, and wrought over with scrolls and other ornaments. Ordinary Burmese MSS. have the edges of the leaves painted and sometimes gilt.

Illustrations

Illustrations are almost unknown in Bengal, but in Orissa they are frequently employed. The most noted place, however, for illustrations is Kasmir, and the finest and richest MSS. are usually produced in that Province, the illuminations consisting of flowery initials, grotesque

cyphers, single figures, historical compositions, marginal lines, and scroll borders: most of the illustrations are in the Moorish style.

Size, &c., of paper MSS.

The size of paper MSS. varies from eight to twenty inches by four to eight inches. The paper is folded so as to mark the margins and regulate the straightness of the lines. In the North-Westernn Provinces the paper is sometimes so folded as to retain two leaves together; but in Bengal it is always cut into separate and distinct folia. Sometimes a board mounted with strong thread, tied at equal distances, is used for a ruler. The paper is laid flat on this board, and then pressed hard with a ball of cloth, whereby it receives an impression of the threads on its surface, and these impressions look very like waterlines. The leaves are written over lengthwise, leaving a uniform margin all round. The words are generally, but not always, separated by small spaces, and for punctuation the upright stroke, or *dandi,* is freely used. No breaks are made to indicate the ends of paragraphs or sections; and should the writing at the end of a work terminate in the middle of a line, the line is filled up by writing the letter *sri,* or starts, or the name of some god several times, until the line is completed, so that all the lines may be of uniform length. In the case of codices which contain both a text and a commentary, the text is written in large letters in the middle, and the commentary above and below it in smaller letters. This arrangement is called the *trivalli* form, and some tact is necessary in engrossing it, so that all the commentary on the given text may be comprised on the same page. The copyist's name is frequently given at the end, and also the date in Saka or Samvat—rarely in Jupiter's cycles. The name of the place where the copy is made, and that of the party for whom it is made, are also occasionally given, but never the name of the reigning sovereign. A protestation sometimes occurs at the end, saying that the copyist has faithfully followed his text and is not responsible for errors.

Size, &c., of palm-leaf MSS.

Palm-leaf MSS. are, from the nature of the material, narrower and longer, and they are never ruled or folded, the veins of the leaf serving the purpose of ruling. A square space is usually left blank in the middle of the page, and in the centre of it a round hole is punched for a string to pass through, for the purpose of typing the codex in a bundle. Very long MSS. have two such spaces and holes. The Tantras enjoin that the holes should always be punched—never cut with a knife, or produced by burning. The reason for this rule is obvious, as cutting or burning produces a hole with jagged sides, which are very apt to catch the string

and cause a split in the leaf. A clean, punched hole allows the string to slide freely, and produces no injury. In Bengal some very old paper codices have the square blank space in the middle, but none has any hole bored in it. In the North-Western Provinces the blank space does not occur, and both in Bengal and the North-West the leaves are piled in a bundle between two boards, and then tied round in a piece of coarse cloth. Where the codices are small, with a view to economy several of them are usually tied in one bundle, and this causes much trouble in finding out any particular work when needed. For boards the spatha of the betel-nut tree, which yields a thick, coreaceous, pliant substance, is often substituted in the eastern districts, and they are found to be very useful as they are not liable to warp, crack, or be attacked by insects.

Mode of preserving MSS.

In the houses of rich men a dry masonry room is generally assigned to MSS., where a sufficient number of shelves or chests are provided for the storage of the codices. But care is not always taken to open the bundles every now and then, and to expose them to the sun for a few hours. In pakka monasteries, the same mode of preservation is also adopted; and there being always some monk or other who can read, and who takes a delight in reading, the bundles are more frequently opened, aired, and dried. The Jains are very particular in this respect, and in their monasteries great care is usually taken of their literary treasures. The case is, however, very different as regards the Tols of Bengal. The men who own them are, with rare exceptions, very poor; they live in low, damp, thatched huts of the meanest description; they have no means of buying proper cabinets for their manuscripts; and their time is so occupied by their professional duties, and frequent peregrinations to distant places for earning the means of their livelihood, that they cannot often look after their books. The receptacle they usuaully assign to their MSS. is a bamboo frame placed across the beams of their huts, exposed constantly to the damp emanating from the daily-washed mud floors of their rooms, and occasionally to leakage from ill-made and old thatched roofs; while mice and other vermin have full and free access to them at all times. The mice are particularly destructive, as they not only gnaw cloth, boards, and palm-leaves, but, their liquid discharges, rapidly destroy the texture of arsenicised paper. The fact was first brought to my notice by a mukhtiyar when I was a boy. He asked my permission to put two sheets of fresh-looking, written, stamped paper for a night on the bottom of a cage of white mice, which were my pets. The permission was granted, and the next morning the papers were taken out, stained and decayed very like old documents, which they were, I then learnt, intended to pass

for. I was also told and shewn that by careful and repeated washing with a mixture of the fluid discharge of mice with water, paper can be made to assume the appearance of any age that may be desired; the effect produced is not confined to the surface, but is perceptible even in the texture of the paper.

Copyists and copying

Even as in mediaeval Europe monks were the principal copyists of ancient works, so have their congeners been the principal preservers of Sanskrit literature in India during the last ten or fifteen hundred years. Yatis, Sannyasis, Gosaisn, and their disciples congregated in large Maths, devoted all their leisure-hours,—the former to composing, and the latter to copying; and the monasteries benefited largely by their labours. In the Tols the pupils were, and still are, the principal copyists. In return for the board, lodging, and education they receive, free of all charge, from their tutors, they copy all such works as their tutors require, and thus the Tols are enriched. For the public, however, the principal copyists are the Kayasthas. Old and used-up men of this caste, when no longer fit to earn their livelihood by active exertion, generally betake to copying ancient works for householders and private gentlemen, and the bulk of the MSS. now extant are due to their labours. Poor Brahmans also take to this occupation. Seated on their haunches, with the paper or palm-leaf resting on their raised knees, which serve for a table, and the pen and ink procured from materials everywhere available, they ply their vocation without making any outlay, or subjecting themselves to any exertion which would be unsuited to their habits and time of life. The remuneration they formerly derived ranged from one rupee to two rupees eight annas per thousand *slokas* of thirty-two thousand letters, according to the quality of writing. The rates have now been doubled, owing principally to the demand for copyists being limited, and very few taking to the profession. As a class these copyists are men of limited literary knowledge; but generally speaking they are faithful to their duty, and reproduce the originals placed before them with fair accuracy.

REPORT ON EDITING HISTORICAL DOCUMENTS*

THE Anglo-American Historical Committee, appointed by the Conference of Anglo-American historians in July 1921, invited a small committee, consiting of Dr. R. L. Poole, Messrs. G. N. Clark, C. G. Crump, Hilary Jenkinson, Rev. Professor Claude Jenkins, and A. G. Little (convener), to 'suggest principles upon which historical documents should be edited.' Professor Wallace Notestein was subsequently added to the committee, which also consulted a number of historical scholars on both sides of the Atlantic.

The committee presented a preliminary report in July 1922.

The following is the revised report down to March 1923. It is the work of the committee as a whole, but does not bind any individual member to any particular statement. Nor does it claim to be final; and further discussion, especially of the problems relating to the editing of modern documents, is invited.

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I. INTRODUCTION

Any editor in preparing for publication a text of an historical document will be well advised to bear in mind the following facts.

In the first place, it is not very likely that any other edition of the document will ever be prepared. Those who require to make use of it will, for the most part, be compelled to use the text published by him, and will only be able to refer to the original with difficulty.

In the next place, his text will be used for several purposes. The historian will use it to establish his facts; the student of diplomatic for

*Reprinted by kind permission from the *Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research*, Vol. I, No. 1, 1923. This report was originally intended to be published in the July 1947 issue of *The Indian Archives*. The Board of Editor regrets that this has not so far been possible owing to lack of space. For a similar report on the 'Editing of Modern Historical Documents' see *The Indian Archives*, April 1947, pp. 135-147.

its form and style; the philologist will expect an accurate representation of the spelling of the original; and in course of time other scholars may want to use it for purposes yet unknown.

The editor must remember that the critical study of documents, in every sense of the word critical, is founded upon the work of their editors; and he must be prepared to give any student of his work all facilities and assistance in such criticism.

Now, it must be admitted that any attempt to prepare a text to be used for several purposes is bound to result in a compromise, and that the precise point of compromise can only be settled by the editor himself, and will often have to be adjusted to the particular document with which he is dealing. In many cases the actual arrangement of the matter of a document can only be preserved in a printed edition at the cost of much paper to the publisher and much bewilderment to the reader. In dealing with corrupt manuscripts it is hardly possible to insist that an editor shall note every folly that a careless scribe may commit in such matters as the distribution of minims, or the confusion of letters written in very similar ways. It is for the editor to estimate his own competence and to devise his own methods of dealing with these and other cases. No rules that can be given either can or ought to acquit the editor of his ultimate responsibility.

Nevertheless, this committee has come to the conclusion that it will be useful to circulate an exposition of the principles that in their opinion ought to guide editors of historical documents, as well as definite rules for the guidance of transcribers.

II. Rules for Making an Accurate Transcript

1. So far as the conditions of transcribing allow, the transcriber should not omit anything that is, or insert anything that is not, in the manuscript before him.

2. The beginning of each page or membrane of the manuscript or manuscripts transcribed should be marked on the transcript (either in the text, within square brackets, or in the margin) with the number of the leaf followed by the letter *r (recto)* or *v (verso)* to distinguish the front and back pages of each leaf; or the number of the membrane, followed, if the back of the membrane is meant, by the letter *d (dorso)*.

3. Abbreviations whose meaning is undoubted should be extended, and the form of the word used which is customary in the manuscript (e.g. *lr̄a* may be either *littera* or *litera*).

Abbreviations whose meaning is in the least uncertain should be represented by an apostrophe, or if necessary by a facsimile copy in the margin.

No abbreviations should be neglected.

The transcriber is warned that the use of abbreviation marks,[1] especially in suspension of final syllables or letters, is very common in English documents in the late fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, though frequently without apparent meaning; similarly in these periods superior letters[2] very often occur which cannot be extended with certainty. All these must be reproduced in transcription, the apostrophe being employed to represent the abbreviation marks, while the superior letters are reproduced as they stand.

A similar warning applies to the transcribing of Anglo-French documents of the mediaeval period: e.g. *q* may mean *que* or *qe*, and cannot be extended; and final *n* with suspension mark is very generally without definite meaning.

4. The spelling of the manuscript should be retained, words, however, being separated (or joined), according to modern usage, where possible.

5. Capitals, the use of *v* and *u*, *i* and *j*, the Anglo-Saxon diagraph (*æ*, *Æ*), the letters thorn and wen, *y* for (th), ȝ (for *g*, *gh*, *y*), and the like peculiarities of the original scribe, should be copied in the transcript.

6. The same applies to the punctuation of the original.

7. The division into paragraphs and other sections of the manuscript should be followed.

8. Paragraph and other marks deliberately made in the original should be copied as closely as possible.

9. Figures and numerals should be given in the form in which they appear in the manuscript.

10. The text as written by the original scribe should be transcribed for Roman type. Rubrics and marginal headings should be marked for italics or heavier or spaced type. Other differentiations of type may sometimes be found useful—e.g. for quotations and other exceptional cases.

11. Alterations[3] by the original scribe or a contemporary corrector should be given in the text, the original reading, if possible, in notes.

Alterations by later hands should be given in notes, the original reading, if possible, in the text.

12. Changes of hand and of ink should be noted, and the different hands, if possible, distinguished, in footnotes.

13. Any other changes of form or arrangement in the manuscript should be similarly noted.

14. Later additions should be relegated to notes, unless they form continuations of a chronological work. In this case they should be placed in the text and notes added as prescribed in §§12 and 13.

15. Lacunæ, due to mutilation or illegibility, should be noted; the approximate length of which lacunæ should be indicated.

16. (*i*) Anything which has perished by accident in the original and which can be supplied with certainty may be supplied and placed within square brackets for Roman type.

(*ii*) Any conjectural additions or emendations by the transcriber should be marked for italics within square brackets.

17. The occurrence of blank pages, or parts of pages, or of blank lines, or parts of lines, should be noted: and where they are material to the sense, they should be represented by a blank in the text of the transcript.

18. Frequently recurring formulæ may be indicated by initials, or by a note in the text, which should be in italics within square brackets.

19. Similarly the transcriber may adopt abbreviations (such as *li.*, *s.*, *d.*) for regularly occurring words. He must indicate that he has done so by a general preliminary note.

20. The general preliminary note should also cover all cases where he has been obliged *throughout* his transcript to alter the form of the original (e.g. by rearranging tabulated entries which were too awkward to copy). It should not be used for *occasional* alterations of the form of the original, nor for comments on unusual features (such as sketches) in the text. These should be noted in footnotes as they occur.

III. Principles Suggested for the Construction of a Printed Text

Introductory Note

The editor, having prepared his transcript, should before producing a printed edition endeavour to determine the 'state' of the document; in the case of literary works, whether it is the author's autograph, of a copy prepared under the author's supervision, or an independent copy, whether it is one of several versions, an abridgement, expansion, or extract; in the case of other documents, whether it is a draft, or original, or copy (either private or official). If it is known to be an autograph or original, copies will have little value for establishing the text, unless the original is damaged or for any reason illegible. If it is a copy, search should, if necessary, be made for other copies; these should be examined, their mutual relations determined, and a correct text produced according to the recognised rules of textual criticism.

Further, the editor should endeavour to determine the time, place, and circumstances of the original of the document, its authorship and the purposes for which it was written, and its position with regard to related documents.

We wish to emphasise the fact that there are many very minute indications which may be important in deciding these points, but it is

beyond the scope of our report to enumerate these, and we confine ourselves here to giving in a footnote some typical examples.[4]

The editor should also endeavour to understand and, if necessary, explain the arrangement adopted by the original author, compiler, or scribe.

A number of the suggestions here made consist naturally of modifications of the 'Rules for Making an Accurate Transcript' given above. The choice of such modifications varies with editors, one adopting this modification, another that.

It should be borne in mind that the work of preparing an edition from a transcript is a task for a trained scholar. A transcriber, however skilled, will find the maximum of safety in simply printing his transcript as it stands.

1. The editor should not, without indicating the fact, omit anything that is in the text before him or insert anything that is not in the text. The printing of modern titles as though they were contained in the original text may be given as an example to be avoided.

2. The beginning of each page or membrane of the manuscript or manuscripts used as the basis of the edition should be marked in the printed edition, either in the text within square brackets or in the margin, with the number of the leaf followed by the letter *r* (*recto*) or *v* (*verso*) to distinguish the front and back pages of each leaf, and the number of the membrane, followed, if the back of the membrane is meant, by the letter *d* (*dorso*).

3. The practice of numbering the lines of the printed text by fives (5, 10, 15, etc.) is recommended, and may often be found by itself (without reference numbers or letters in the text) to give sufficient indication of what passages in the text are referred to in footnotes.

4. (*i*) Abbreviations whose meaning is undoubted should be extended and the form of the word used which is customary in the manuscript (e.g. *lrā* may be either *littera* or *litera;* in French *q* may be either *que* or *qe*).

(*ii*) Abbreviations whose meaning is in the least uncertain—especially in surnames or place names—should be represented by an apostrophe.

(*iii*) Constantly recurring abbreviation marks with no apparent meaning—such as are frequent in English documents of later date (see Part II. § 3)—may be disregarded. There are also some abbreviations of frequent occurrence in English and Anglo-French which, though their extension is uncertain, an editor may permit himself to represent in modern spelling: e.g. words ending in *-tion*. All these departures from the original should be the subject of a careful preliminary note; and,

should the practice of the scribe change at any point, this should be noted.

(*iv*) The abbreviations *Kal.*, *Id.*, *Non.* should be left as such.

(*v*) Titles which occur frequently in a manuscript may be represented by a capital initial (*e.g. B.* for *beatus*).

(*vi*) In accounts and similar documents abbreviations used in the manuscript for money, weights, measures, etc., may be retained, or normalised formulæ may be used: e.g. *li. s. d.*, *lb.* or *lib.*, etc. The editor should indicate his practice in a general preliminary note.

(*vii*) Proper names indicated by an initial in the manuscript may be given in full with the omitted letters in italics or square brackets.

5. (*i*) In the use of capitals it is usually considered convenient to adopt the modern practice, and use them at the beginning of sentences and for proper names of persons, places, months, church festivals, and other indications of date. But it must not be forgotten that peculiarities in the use of capitals are frequently significant.

(*ii*) The initial *ff* should be represented by *F*.

(*iii*) In cases where it is uncertain whether a fixed family name, or the occupation, origin, or peculiarity of the person named is meant, it is best to adopt the reading in the manuscript, e.g. Petro fabro or Petro Fabro; William Carpenter or carpenter.

6. In punctuation it is usually considered convenient to adopt the modern practice; but editors should indicate as exactly as possible the practice of the texts before them in this matter.

7. (*i*) The division into paragraphs and other sections in the text should generally be followed. In cases where the editor decides that the sense requires any alteration in the divisions made by the scribe, he should note the fact.

(*ii*) When it is necessary to insert headings of chapters, etc., which are not in the manuscript these should be printed in italics within square brackets.

(*iii*) Chapters, paragraphs, articles, etc., may, if desirable, be numbered to facilitate reference; if the numbers are not in the manuscript, this should be indicated by putting them in square brackets or in some other manner.

8. (*i*) The spelling of the manuscript should be preserved generally, and absolutely as regards family names, and place names and authors' autograph manuscripts, and variations in spelling which imply variations in pronunciation. Otherwise it is not necessary to distinguish between the long and short forms of *i* (*i*, *j*)—any more than it is between the long and short forms of *s*. Where the manuscript is consistent in the use of *v* and *u* its practice should be followed; where it is not consistent the

modern practice—or, if preferred, the *v* form as initial, the *u* form as medial—may be adopted. The *w*, when used for *vu*, etc., should be extended into its constituent parts according to modern usage. It is not necessary to print *uiciis* on one line and *vicijs* on the next because the scribe may happen to write them so, nor to extend *wlnus* into *vvlnus* rather than into *vulnus*. Markedly peculiar spellings, such as *ewangelia*, should be retained. Words should be separated (or joined) according to the modern usage, where possible.

(*ii*) Diphthongs *æ*, *œ* in mediaeval Latin should be printed as *ae*, *oe*;*e* cedilla should be printed as such, or (if this presents typographical difficulties) as *æ*; *e* (for *ae*) should be kept, as should the Anglo-Saxon *æ*, *Æ*, the letters thorn and wen, *y* (for *th*), ʒ (for *g*, *gh*. *y*).

An editor should be careful to state the practice of his manuscript in these matters and in all others which have a palæographical interest or may furnish any data for textual criticism.[5]

9. It is the safest course to give figures and numerals as they occur in the manuscript—whether in Roman (large or small) or Arabic numerals or in words, or in a mixture of all three. If in printing lists of prices, accounts, etc., the editor decides to substitute Arabic for Roman numerals, this should be stated. In Roman numerals it is convenient to use the long *j* as terminal.

10. (*i*) The text as written by the original scribe should be printed in Roman type. Rubrics and marginal headings should be printed in italics, or heavier or spaced type. Further differentiations of type may sometimes be found necessary or useful—e.g. for quotations and other exceptional cases.

(*ii*) In the case of chronicles or other literary works where considerable portions are incorporated from earlier writers, those borrowed portions should be printed in different type with due references.

11. Alterations[6] by the original scribe or by the contemporary corrector should be given in the text, the original reading (unless it is a mere blunder) in a note. Alterations by later hands, if of any importance, should be given in notes, the original reading, if possible, in the text. In some cases it may be advisable to print both readings in the text and distinguish them by different type or by some other method.

12. Changes of hand and of ink should be noted, and the different hands, if important, distinguished, so far as possible.

13. Later additions should be relegated to notes, unless they form continuations of a chronological work. In this case they should be placed in the text and a note added as to change of hand and date.

14. Purely accidental omissions in the manuscript selected as the basis of the edition should, where possible, be supplied from other copies, and

the passage omitted be printed in the text in Roman type within square brackets with a reference.

15. Lacunæ due to mutilation or illegibility of the manuscript should similarly be supplied from other manuscripts where possible, with due references.

16. The approximate length of the passage mutilated or illegible should be indicated.

17. (*i*) Anything which has perished by accident in the original and which can be supplied with certainty may be supplied and placed within square brackets in Roman type.

(*ii*) Any conjectural additions or emendations inserted in the text by the editor should be printed in italics within square brackets.

18. (*i*) Where it is necessary to emend a corrupt passage or supply missing words, the reading of the manuscript should be fully recorded in a note.

(*ii*) It is not, however, necessary to record every blunder of a careless scribe. The use of (!) or (*sic*) in the text should be avoided as far as possible.

19. The occurrence of blank pages or parts of pages or blank lines or parts of lines should be noted.

20. (*i*) Mediæval documents should, where possible, be printed in full, except that frequently recurring formulæ may be indicated by initials, or better by a note in the text such as [*as in No. . . .*].

The editor should never substitute 'etc.' for a formula given in the text without putting his 'etc.' in italics in suqare brackets. And such notes as [*in the usual form*] should only be used with the greatest possible care and should not be employed without a reference to an example of the actual form meant.

(*ii*) Where documents are printed partly in full and partly in summarised form, the summaries should be given in English and the crucial words of the document summarised given in full in the original language between inverted commas.

21. In printing original charters of formal character and early date, care should be taken to indicate the use of capitals or other letters of peculiar formation, the distribution of lines, the disposal of signatures and names of witnesses, the position of monograms and seals, and any other characteristics of the chanceries concerned.

22. (*i*) In editing a collection of isolated documents, the arrangement —chronological, geographical, or according to subjects—which an editor should adopt must depend on the nature of the documents and the purpose for which they are collected.

(*ii*) Earlier documents which are known only through their recitation

in later documents should be noted in their proper places by a reference to the later documents in which they are found.

(*iii*) When a non-chronological arrangement is adopted, it is advisable to print, if possible, a complete list in chronological order.

23. (*i*) In such a collection each document should (*a*) be preceded by a heading containing date according to the modern calendar, name(*s*) or designation(*s*) of the persons by whom and to whom addressed, and a brief indication, wherever possible, of the subject-matter; and (*b*) be followed by the reference and a description of the document with a note on other recensions or important copies of the document.

(*ii*) When a previous edition of such a collection exists and any rearrangement of the materials is adopted in the new edition, a key or comparative table of references should be given.

24. (*i*) The editing of some cartularies, registers, and similar documents, which have been frequently altered and added to during long periods, presents peculiar difficulties, and an editor must use his judgment in dealing with them and explain his method.

(*ii*) In some cases it may be possible to print the document as it stands, with one type for the entries in the first hand and one type for the entries in all the later hands.

(*iii*) Where the result of this method would be confusing to the reader, it is legitimate (while using the two types) to adhere to the plan of the first scribe throughout and rearrange later additions by inserting them in the places they would naturally occupy under this plan; and to relegate extraneous matter to an appendix. Wherever such passages have been removed, a note should be added in the text or at the foot of the page.

(*iv*) When two or more cartularies (or similar documents) covering much the same ground exist, it is best to take one as the basis of the text and to give variants in notes and appendices, rather than to make a new composite text.

(*v*) Where original charters exist, the readings of these, where they differ from the copies in the cartulary, may be adopted in the text in Roman type within square brackets; but it may be necessary to emphasise the difference by putting the readings of the original charter in a footnote.

(*vi*) If the original charters are so numerous that they can form the basis of the text (with supplementary additions from the cartulary), the edition should be treated as a collection of documents as in §§ 22, 23 above, and the use of the word cartulary as a title should then be avoided.

(*vii*) Original charters, extant but omitted from a cartulary which

is being edited, should be printed in an appendix; references to these should be given in the appropriate places.

25. Ciphers should be accorded the treatment recommended above for abbreviations, i.e. they should be deciphered where the meaning is undoubted. The editor should, by means of typographical conventions or footnotes, indicate which part of his document is in cipher, which *en clair;* and he should not omit to give in his introduction a sufficient specimen of every code of cipher employed.

26. The principles here suggested are meant to guide editors who are printing a text from manuscripts. Where a text is being reprinted from a printed book, e.g. when early pamphlets are being printed of which no manuscript exists, the closest adherence to the original is desirable wherever reasonably practicable. It sometimes happens that the typographical arrangement is so confusing or inconsistant or meaningless that no good purpose is served by repeating it. These cases appear, however, to be rare, and when an editor departs from strict fidelity to a printed original he should be careful to explain what he has done.

IV. The Preparation of Various Forms of Calendars

This committee has felt that questions of Listing and Cataloguing were outside its terms of reference; and moreover that it should not attempt to deal with such questions of policy as the comparative value of various methods of editing other than the publication of the more or less complete text. At the same time it is desirable to point out that the extent to which a calendar (or an abbreviated version) may be made to conform to the Rules and Principles here laid down for a complete edition.

1. A calendar attempts to shorten the text in various ways:
   (*a*) By substituting a descriptive phrase or formula for a passage in the original: e.g. 'repetition here of the story given at pp. 25 to 27 above'; 'grant of free warren'.
   (*b*) By the omission of words and phrases.
   (*c*) By substituting a summarised translation for the wording of of the original.
   (*d*) By substituting a summarised paraphrase for the wording of the original.

   Several of these methods may be employed simultaneously.

2. The compiler of a calendar should aim at preserving as much as possible of the language of the original, and all the matter contained in it, irrespective of the points which interest himself (see Part I. of Introduction, above), sacrificing the style of the original rather than its contents.

3. Though there will generally be passages which can be represented by a short description in the compiler's own words, it has been found in many instances perfectly feasible to take a complete transcript, strike out all words not absolutely necessary, and send the resulting copy to the printer with a general instruction to represent the deleted passages by some conventional sign such as a series of dots. This method is undoubtedly the nearest to the original, and the compiler of a calendar will be well advised to consider the possibility of using it.

4. Whatever method he adopts, he must employ some typographical convention to distinguish his own words from those of the original, and lay down clearly in the introduction what this is. He should also remember that the necessity for a careful introductory description of the document (on the lines recommended in Part VI., below) is even greater in the case of a calendar than in that of a full edition.

5. If a summarised translation of documents in a foreign language into English is required, the compiler may be well advised to begin by making a literal translation—adhering as closely as possible to the order of the original—and then endeavour to shorten his translation in the way suggested in paragraph 3 above.

6. Should exceptional circumstances arise in which the compiler feels obliged to make omissions (e.g. of particular kinds of detail or types of document), he should not fail to give the reader information as to their nature and the places where they occur.

7. In matters of spelling, punctuation, and the use of capitals in those parts of a calendar where the original is preserved, the compiler should be guided by the Rules for Transcription and Principles for Editing already given in this Report; and he should be guided by them throughout in regard to matters of arrangement, use of varying texts, and so forth.

8. Since the use of methods of paraphrase and summary in the construction of calendars necessarily involves a wide departure from the text of the document, the committee does not desire to deal with these subjects in this Report. But it would point out the importance of retaining in such calendars any peculiarity of spelling or phrase which may conceivably have a bearing upon interpretation.

V. Indexing

1. Every edition of an historical document, or of historical documents of considerable size, should have an alphabetical index of names of persons and places—usually one general index for both. An editor must be regarded as equally responsible for the index and for the edition of the text.

2. It is usually advisable to index introduction and notes (including authorities cited, but not mere references) as well as text.

3. *Names of persons.*—In modern documents these should be indexed under the family name or surname: e.g. Danby should be indexed under 'Osborne, Thomas,' with cross-references if required from 'Danby, Earl of,' 'Carmarthen, Marquis of,' 'Leeds, Duke of.'

4. In mediæval documents the indexing of names of persons is more complicated. Mediæval persons have usually two names, a Christian name and an additional name—either a patronymic, or a territorial name, or a descriptive name; in many cases an individual may have two additional names may either be inherited and common to the whole family, or may change from father to son or from brother to brother.

Two systems of indexing have been devised to deal with these cases.

(*i*) The system in use in France: the person is indexed under the Christian name, with cross-references from the additional name or names; and this is done whether the additional name is common to the family or not.

(*ii*) The system in use in England: the person is indexed under the additional name or names without any cross-reference from the Christian name; and this is done whether the additional name is common to the family or not.

Both systems have their advantages and disadvantages, and the choice of one or the other must depend partly on the nature of the documents being edited.[7] But as the object of an index of persons is to enable the reader to find the person sought for readily, it is desirable, whichever system is adopted, to give cross-references from the other name or names.

5. All references to a single person should be grouped under one name, though that person's designation may have changed: e.g. references to 'Benedict Gaetani, cardinal', if he also appears in the text as pope, should be indexed under 'Boniface VIII., pope' (the references to him as cardinal and pope being distinguished in the index), with cross-references from 'Benedict' and 'Gaetani' (similarly with kings, bishops, etc.).

6. Different persons of the same name should, where possible be distinguished in the index.

7. Where a person is mentioned under his title only, 'the King,' 'the bishop of Worcester,' etc., the passages should be indexed under the name of the person referred to, when there is no doubt about the identification.

8. It is generally convenient to index prelates, officials, etc., under their see, abbey, office, etc.: e.g. 'St. Albans, Abbots of,' followed by names in chronological order, with cross-references from the individual names.

9. Quotations from classical and other authors should, when identi-

fied, be indexed under the name of the author, or put together under a general subject heading—'Quotations.'

10. *Place-names.*—References should be indexed under the modern form of the place-name, where that is certainly known, followed by a list of the various forms used in the document: e.g. 'Reading, Rading, Radinges'; and cross-references from these various forms should be given. Where the old name is entirely different from the modern, references should be indexed under the old name but a cross-reference from the modern name should be given.

11. When references to a person or place are very numerous, they must be grouped under dates or subjects, with indications of the matter treated of (see, e.g. 'Henry III.' in index to *Annales Monastici,* and 'London' in index to *Cal. of Liberate Rolls,* Hen. III., vol. i., as examples of the two different methods). A long series of bare numerals is intolerable.

12. A subject-index is sometimes necessary, generally desirable, but whether it should be separate, or combined with the general index, and what subjects should be chosen, must depend on the editor and the nature of the documents edited. It is more important that the subjects chosen should be completely indexed, than that the choice of subjects should be exhaustive—which indeed is impossible. An editor should, however, be guided in his choice of subjects rather by the contents of the documents than by his personal predilections, and should bear in mind the variety of purposes for which his work will be used (see Part I., Introduction). The method of grouping kindred subjects under a general heading, with cross-references from the individual subjects, is recommended. (A good example of a separate subject-index will be found in *Cal. of Liberate Rolls,* Hen. III., vol. i.).

VI. Terms Used in Describing Documents

The following terms and rules are meant to assist an editor in describing the manuscript which he is intending to print. They are a brief guide to the description of complete manuscripts. Where the editor is only printing a portion, large or small, of a manuscript, it is for him to decide how elaborate a description of his original should be given.

1. The REFERENCE to a manusript should give the town and collection in which it is kept, and the number or other indication by which its production may be secured. If it has already been printed under another reference or press-mark this should be mentioned.

2. Single pieces of parchment, vellum, or paper should be called PIECES of parchment, vellum, or paper.

If they are or are known to have been pages of a book, they should be called LEAVES or FOLIOS.

If they form or have formed part of a major document other than a book (see definition of DOCUMENTS), they should be called MEMBRANES if they are of parchment or vellum, FOLIOS if they are of paper.

3. The word DOCUMENT is here used for any writing which formed a unit from the point of view of the original compiler or compilers. Thus a book into which a number of charters have been copied is a DOCUMENT; the original charters bound up together form a book consisting of so many DOCUMENTS.

4. A DOCUMENT may consist of a single piece of parchment, vellum, or paper, or of a number of pieces, membranes, or folios fastened together in a variety of ways, as explained in the following paragraphs 5, 6, 7, 8.

5. A number of pieces of parchment, vellum, or paper may be fastened together in the same plane so as to form a single sheet in a number of different ways. Thus the two edges may be laid together and overcast; or may over-lap and be sewn through, or run through with a strip of parchment or other material; or stuck together with some adhesive; and so forth.

6. A number of membranes or folios may be laid flat, one on another, pierced vertically and united together by some material passed through the hole or holes thus made. The collection so united is called a FILE. Thus a FILE may be a single *document* of several *membranes* or *folios*, or a number of *documents* (each consisting of one or more *membranes* or *folios*) *filed* together.

7. A ROLL is a document the comparative length and breadth of which led to its being preserved in that form. It may consist of a single membrane or folio, or of a number fastened together head to tail; and cases are known where a number of separate *documents* have been thus fastened together into a ROLL.

N.B.—Many documents are called ROLLS which are technically FILES. In describing these both terms should be kept. Thus a Piple Roll should be described as a Pipe Roll, being a File of so many membranes.

Note that in the numeration of Pipe Rolls and other Rolls made up as files, two (or more) membranes sewn together head to tail and filed are habitually counted as a single membrane.

8. A BOOK (or VOLUME) is formed when a number of *leaves* or *folios* are laid one on the other, folded, and sewn together through, and in a line with, the fold. The folded leaves are known as SHEETS. The collection of them fastened with one sewing is known as a GATHERING or QUIRE. Each sheet if folded once down the centre forms two LEAVES or FOLIOS; if folded again, four; and so on.

9. The sewing usually goes through or over some external piece or pieces of material (TAPES, CORDS, OR STRINGS, PARCHMENT STRIPS, DOUBLE CORDS, etc.) to which a BINDING may be attached; or the BOOK may be sewn directly to a COVER of any material. The BINDING usually consists of two stiff sides (BOARDS)[8] with a COVER consisting of a piece of any material extending from BOARD to BOARD over the BACK of the SHEETS. The BACK is called TIGHT when the material is glued down to it, HOLLOW when it is not. The cords, etc., in old bindings lie outside the backs of the sheets, when the BINDING is called FLEXIBLE. When the sewing is on parchment STRIPS they are often DRAWN THROUGH holes in the BOARDS and COVER.

10. The ascertaining of the arrangement of the leaves forming a quire and of the quires forming a book is known as COLLATION. The presence or absence of SIGNATURES (i.e. letters and numbers on the margin of the first half of the leaves forming a quire) and of CATCHWORDS (words on the lower margin of the last leaf of a quire) should be noted. If single leaves form part of a make-up of a book, their presence and position should be noted; as also should the presence and position of annexures or-insertions.

Method of Description

The points distinguished above by small capitals should all be examined.

A full description would include:

1. Reference.
2. Number and nature of documents involved.
3. Language(s).
4. Country or countries of origin.
5. Handwriting(s)—date and character.
6. Material (parchment, paper).
7. Nature of make-up—file, roll, book. (Where a file is rolled this should be stated.)
8. Material and method used for filing or binding.
9. Number of leaves or membranes; 'Collation' in the case of a book or volume.
10. Measurement of leaves or membranes (the metric system is preferable).
11. Normal number of lines to a leaf or membrane; and of columns to a page.
12. Particulars of ruling.

13. History:
   (*a*) Age of make-up, whether original, old, or modern; a modern make-up should be examined for traces of old, and the old should be dated if possible;
   (*b*) Old numerations (including catchwords and signatures);
   (*c*) Traces of missing portions;
   (*d*) Press-marks;
   (*e*) Former owners or users.
14. General state of repair.
15. Colour and nature of ink or other writing material.

16. Special features—e.g. decoration, miniatures, any marks on covers or fly-leaves, bindings if original or of interest.

VII. Descriptions of English Seals Attached to Documents and the Methods of Attaching Them (Post-Conquest)

Suggestions for terms.

Seal. The word seal is here used to mean the actual seal attached to the document authenticated or closed by it.

Closing seal. Seals are used to authenticate a document or to authenticate and close it. In most cases the following terms relate to seals used for the first purpose only. A seal which both closes and authenticates a document may be termed a closing seal.

Matrix. The instrument used to produce it is called the matrix.

Classification

Double seal. A. Seals with impressions on both sides, produced by a pair of matrices designed to be used together.

The two sides are distinguished as—

Obverse. 1. The side turned towards the person reading the document.

Reverse. 2. The side turned away from him.

Single seal. B. Seals with an impression on one side only, produced by the use of one matrix.

Single seal being the observe or reverse of... If the matrix is known to be one of a pair intended for use in producing a double seal, this should be stated.

Suggestions for terms.

Single seal with single counter-seal.

C. Seals with impressions on both sides, produced by two matrices of different shapes or sizes.

Shapes and Measurements of Seals

Round seal.

A. Round seals. These should be measured along a diameter and the length given in millimetres, or in millimetres and inches.

Pointed oval seal.

B. Pointed oval seals. It is generally sufficient to give the measurement as above along the longer diameter from point to point. If necessary, both diameters may be measured.

C. In other cases the shapes should be described; e.g. oval, shield-shaped, triangular, a segment of a circle, etc.; sufficient measurements should be given to enable the reader to draw a figure.

NOTE.—If the seal is mutilated or fragmentary, the actual size of the fragment and its relation to the complete seal should be roughly indicated; and an estimate of the measurement of the complete seal given, if necessary and possible.

Colour of Seals

Colour.

The colour of wax of the seal should be stated. If the colour of the body of the wax differs from the colour of the surface, both colours should be stated if they can be ascertained.

The existence of varnish should be noted.

Methods of Attachment

Seal pendent from (two) (plaited) cords of (silk) red and green.

A. A cord or cords are passed through a hole or holes pierced through a strengthened portion of the document formed by a single fold. The cord or cords are then often plaited to form a single lace, which is embedded in the body of the seal for some distance. Where the cords leave the seal, they are normally no longer plaited. The colour, number, and material of the cords should be given.

Seal pendent from a doubled tag.

B. A strip of parchment[10] is passed through slits in a strengthened portion of the document

Suggestions for terms.

formed by a fold as above, the two ends being embedded in the body of the seal, beyond which they frequently project. Often the strip is twisted inside the seal.

Seal on tongue.

C. From the body of the parchment a tongue of parchment is cut, which remains continuous with the document at one end, and at some portion of its length is embedded in the seal. The point at which the tongue leaves the document may be termed the root. The root is generally on the left-hand side.

Root.

Measurements.

The length from the root to the edge of the seal should be given, and the length and width of the tongue; its shape unless the sides are parallel, and the presence of an address noted. In most cases the tongue is cut transversely to the document. If it is cut vertically or in any other fashion, this should be stated and any other peculiarity described.

Tie.

The existence of a second narrow strip below the tongue which bears the seal should also be noted. It may be termed a tie. Any traces of a seal on the tie should be noted.

In many cases only a vestige of the tongue or tie remains. Such vestiges should be noted.

Seal applied.
Seal applied to close the document.

D. A single seal may be placed directly on the document, either on the face or on the back. If the seal is used to close the document, this should be mentioned.

Seal applied on cross.

In some cases the seal is placed in the centre of a cross of wax, of which the arms vary in length and width.

If the seal is applied in such a manner as to prevent any additions to the writing on the document, this should be noted.

Papered seal.

In some cases single seals placed directly on the document were made by covering the wax disk with paper, and the matrix was pressed into the wax through the paper. The shape to which the paper is cut should be noted.

Suggestions for terms.

E. Any other method of affixing the seal to a document should be completely described.

Several seals.

NOTE.—A document may bear several seals. Each seal may be separately attached, and in this case the method of attachment can be described as above. Where one attachment is used for two or more seals the number of the seals on each attachment (cord, doubled tag, or tongue) should be given, and the seals described in order beginning from the document.

Wafer seal.
Seal impressed on document.

Sometimes the seal is formed on the document without the use of wax, either by means of a wafer, or by simply using the matrix to emboss the material of the document.

Any methods adopted for securing the adhesion of the wax to the material of the document (e.g. cutting of small holes or tongues under the wax or roughing the surface), or the presence of a rush ring should be noted.

Coverings.

Contemporary or old boxes, bags, or coverings for the seals should be described.

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[1] E. g. *ll* with a stroke through the heads of these letters. *d* and *k* with the final stroke turned down, and *n* with the final stroke turned up.

[2] E.g. *Or* meaning any of the possible spellings of *our*.

[3] The method of alteration should be distinguished. Thus a scribe may *cancel* or *vacate* (by writing these words in the margin); may *erase;* may *strike through;* may *expunge* (by dots or a line under the letters or words to be cancelled); may *interlineate;* or may simply write new letters over the old.

[4] E. g. the gemipuctus or use of two dots instead of the name of a person addressed *ex officio,* the use of the ampersand (&) and tironian est (--:--) as part of a word, the dotted *y*, the stroked *i*, the (late) accented *e*.

[5] In certain exceptional cases (e.g. when editing from scriveners' multiple copies) an editor, while fully aware of his responsibility, may feel justified in modernising his original. If he dose so, he will probably be well advised to modernise entirely.

[6] See Part II. § 11, note.

[7] Thus in a collection of documents in which ecclesiastical persons largely predominate (e.g. Denifle's *Chartularium Universitatis Parisiensis*) the system of indexing under Christian names is undoubtedly preferable.

[8] The boards may be of wood or of layers of paper or parchment.

[9] The obverse and reverse of detached seals should be determined by examining another example of the same seal which is attached.

[10] Very occasionally a strip of leather has been known to occur.

THE EFFECT OF GAMMEXANE ON PAPER

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GAMMEXANE, the new insecticide developed by the Imperial Chemical Industries Ltd., is the gamma isomer of hexachlorocyclohexane (benzene hexachloride $C_6H_6Cl_6$) or "666" in short. It has been claimed that gammexane is many times as effective as the now well known DDT. Gammexane is of very low toxicity to human beings and other mammals and its effect appears to be specific and lasting to insects and cold blooded creatures.[1]

While its effect on insects has been confirmed by different research workers,[2] no information about its effect on paper is available so far. The use of Gammexane has been strongly recommended for controlling insect pests in libraries and record offices because of its lasting effect and the ease and safety with which gammexane smoke generators can be handled. The use of this new insecticide in a record office containing documents which are unique and irreplaceable has to be scrutinised from the preservation point of view.[3] This investigation was therefore undertaken to find out whether the insecticide gammexane as obtained from a smoke generator had any harmful effect on paper or any other record component.

In the following experiments gammexane smoke generators No. 2 weighing approximately 2 oz. each were used. The dose recommended by the manufacturer is 2 oz. per 1000 cu. ft. for insects infesting stored products including cockroaches which are quite robust creatures. It was therefore presumed that the same concentration would be suitable for fumigating insect infested manuscripts. An air-tight steel chamber of 20 cu. ft. capacity with a small opening for equalizing any pressure that might be generated inside the chamber was used. A fraction of the smoke generator weighing 0.1 oz. (1.12 gm.) was ignited on the bottom shelf of the chamber and the samples of papers to be tested were hung from the ceiling of the chamber at a distance of about 5 ft. from the smoke generator. In order to prevent any scorching by convection, the samples were hung in places not directly over the smoke pellet. The samples were exposed to the gammexane smoke for a period of 72 hours in order to allow the smoke to settle down completely. For the measurement of tensile breaking strength and folding endurance the methods recommended by the Technical Association of Pulp and Paper Industries, New York, were generally followed except that the paper strips were conditioned and

tested at 68 per cent relative humidity and 73°F temperature. Strips of paper were cut to the size 11″×0.625″ and one set was kept as control. Other sets of samples were exposed to the gammexane smoke or submitted to the accelarated ageing test as required and the decrease in tensile breaking strength and folding endurance as a result of such exposure to gammexane vapour and subsequent accelarated ageing was determined. The accelarated ageing test consisted in heating the sample for 72 hours at a temperature of 100° + 2°C and then determining the physical and chemical changes brought about by the ageing process. Similar experiments were also carried out with *chiffon* (fine silk) which is often used in repairing old and brittle manuscripts. A piece of *chiffon* was first coated with the dextrine paste normally used for repairing old manuscripts in order to stiffen the fabric as in starching and to keep its threads in position while cutting it into strips for testing. In the case of chiffon, only the tensile strength was determined. The experimental data obtained are given in the table facing this page. Each figure represents the average of at least eight separate readings.

The mere exposure of paper to gammexane smoke brings about a substantial decrease in its tensile strength and folding endurance. The damage to paper is in fact much greater than what we would expect from the drying of paper for 72 hours at a temperature of 100°C. The decrease in tensile strength and folding endurance on exposure to gammexane smoke may be as high as 53.7 per cent and 71.5 per cent respectively. The gammexane treated papers on being subjected to accelarated ageing turned slightly yellow and became very brittle. There was a complete loss of folding endurance in nearly all the samples, and the minimum loss of folding endurance recorded was 66.7 per cent. These data conclusively prove that gammexane smoke as obtained from the No. 2 generator is definitely injurious to paper records of all kinds and affect their permanence as badly as acidic gases. The effect of gammexane on *chiffon* was much less pronounced than on paper. *Chiffon* exposed to gammexane lost only 5.1 per cent of the original tensile breaking strength while on accelerated ageing of the untreated as well as the exposed sample, the decrease in the tensile breaking strength in both the case was 10.3 per cent only. To what extent these results were influenced by the freshly applied dextrine sizing on chiffon it is difficult to say. But it is probable that the sizing acted as a protective layer.

On exposure to gammexane vapour fresh writing in iron-gall ink fades to an appreciable extent but after about four weeks the contrast between the exposed and unexposed part of a written document becomes much less pronounced though a slight fading persists permanently.

The gammexane smoke was allowed to bubble through water. The

Sample Lot No.	Particulars of sample	Treatment	Tensile breaking strength lbs.	*Folding endurance	*Elongation at rupture	Decrease in tensile strength %	Decrease in folding endurance %
H-1	All rag hand made paper weight 28" × 20": 500-26.5 pounds.	Control	14·75	4164	1.6	...	...
H-2	Ditto	Accelarated Ageing	13.08	3165	1·9	11·3	24
H-3	Ditto	Exposed to gammexane smoke	12.4	1185	2.5	15·9	71.5
H-4	Ditto	Exposed to gammexane smoke & then submitted to accelarated ageing.	8.0	0	3.2	46.4	100
S-1	Srirampur Paper, low rag content weak, weight 27" × 17": 500-20 lbs.	Control	5·6	6	1.2	...	...
S-2	Ditto	Accelarated Ageing	5·4	5	1.2	3.6	16.7
S-3	Ditto	Exposed to gammexane smoke	2.5	4	0.9	53·7	33·3
S-4	Ditto	Exposed to gammexane smoke & then submitted to accelarated ageing.	2.3	2	0.7	60.0	66.7
C-1	Chiffon: Pure silk threads per inch: 90 Wt. per sq. yd. 0.36 oz.	Control	3·9		3·5	...	
C-2	Ditto	Accelarated Ageing	3·5		3·1	10.3	
C-3	Ditto	Exposed to gammexane smoke	3·7		3·7	5·1	
C-4	Ditto	Exposed to gammexane smoke & then submitted to accelarated ageing.	3·5		2·9	10.3	

*AVERAGE OF LONG AND CROSS DIRECTION

aqueous solution was found to be distinctly acidic and traces of HCl and HNO_3 were found to be present. The rapid deterioration of paper once exposed to gammexane smoke and its practically complete embrittlement suggests that either gammexane slowly evolves HCl or the smoke generating mixture evolves an inorganic acid, perhaps, HNO_3, which are known to be extremely deleterious to paper.[4] This is further supported by the fact that in papers treated with gammexane smoke the decrease in folding endurance is much greater than the decrease in tensile breaking strength[5]—a feature which is invariably found in the ageing behaviour of papers treated with dilute HCl. Presumably the acidic decomposition products of the smoke generating mixture are mainly responsible for the deleterious effect on paper. If so, such effect could, perhaps, be substantially reduced by using a smoke generating material which does not form acidic fumes.

In view of the above findings it is advisable not to use any new insecticides for the disinsectisation of rare books or records till their effect on the durability of paper has been fully investigated. There can, however, be no objection to the use of such insecticides in the fumigation of empty library stacks and other areas in a library where the fumes are not likely to come in direct contact with the books and record materials.[6]

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6 The assistance of Mr. M. N. Datta in the above investigation is acknowledged with thanks.

ARCHIVES AND THE ARCHIVIST*

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What are Archives?

I AM here tonight as an archivist working in a public library to give you—as librarians—some account of archives and their relation to library work. What are they and why do we differentiate between them and other manuscripts also part of the library stock?

There is a technical definition though, generally speaking, we use the term rather loosely and include documents which, strictly, are not archives at all. Archives are documents which at some time or other have formed part of a transaction and have been preserved by the man or the administration that brought them into being; preserved, not for historical or literary value nor because they were interesting, but for future reference by the persons concerned with the business as reminders or records of an event and kept in their own custody. This doctrine of custody is important for English archives for, according to archive science practised in this country, once a document has strayed out of official custody it has lost its peculiar archive character. It is a doctrine which can roughly be illustrated by the difference between the Public Record Office and the British Museum. The Public Record Office is the storehouse of our national archives, the home of all documents which have accrued from national central administration. It accepts all that each Department of State thinks ought to be preserved for future reference —neither more nor less. Its officials are not asked to exercise any discretion about what they receive or reject. The Trustees of the British Museum, however, are a discriminating body who select. They buy what and where they will and say "No, thank you" to anything they do not want. They collect valuable material but it is not archive material.

Library archives are all those documents which the chief librarian decides ought to be preserved for the proper administration of the library. Broadly they fall into three classes, original communications received, copies of things sent out, and some form of memoranda of the work done. When we talk about the archive department of a public library, however, we do not mean that at all. We mean those collections of documents

* Lecture delivered at the Annual Meeting of the Association of Assistant Librarians held at Leeds on 22 January 1947. Reprinted by permission from *The Library Association Record*, Vol. 49, No. 7, July 1947.

which other administrations have preserved, originally for their own purposes but which are no longer required and have now become useful to *us* for an entirely different reason, viz., they are part of our history—survivals from a past life, so we collect them and establish an archive department.

Even when their peculiar archive character is lost, we still have something very valuable left. We are presented with exact records of fact, authentic and unbiased. There was no ulterior motive behind their production—like Topsy they "just grew". They are free from the taint of propaganda which so often colours the narrative histories, even contemporary chronicles. They arose in the ordinary course of business and were compiled by those in a position to have first-hand knowledge of the facts, entirely unconscious of their present destiny as sources of history. For us they are important for the light they shed on every aspect of life as it touched our ancestors, and we have in archives a considerable bulk of material invaluable to the research student who is coming to rely more and more on this type of evidence for his work and, as archive science develops, will find it increasingly useful.

Why has so much of this material strayed from the care of its natural custodians and why should librarians collect it?

While these records served the utilitarian purposes for which they were compiled there was not much fear of their being lost, but when, having served their day and generation, their owners lost interest in them they would either be thrown out in the same way as we daily fill our waste-paper baskets or, through sheer inertia, just accumulate. Happily there have always been a few people—of the salt of the earth breed—who recognized their potential value and saved many from destruction, building up large private collections, some of which have since passed into public ownership.

During the last century several specific events have accelerated their dispersion. There have been great changes in the methods of local government and new administrations have not always taken requisite care of documents belonging to their predecessors. Some have been destroyed, others have found their way to booksellers and auction rooms and have been collected as curios. An act of 1874 shortened the period of investigation of title on the sale of land and made preservation of the older title deeds unnecessary, with the result that hundreds of land-owners, or their solicitors, threw out their ancient deeds. Many of them were converted into drums for small boys or lampshades for the connoisseur. The 1922 Law of Property Act seemed likely to do the same for manorial records, but timely agitation diverted them to

repositories specially placed under the control of the Master of the Rolls. Without going into detail, there have been many efforts made in the last fifty years to prevent the destruction of records, but changing social conditions having rendered their original purposes obsolete have, at the same time, made it more difficult for their owners to give them safe custody. Change of residence from large to small houses, crippling death duties and the chance of making money by the sale of documents in other countries where they fetch high prices, disruption caused by war—all these things have played a part in the eventual scattering of archives and it has been left largely to the more public spirited to make the effort to save this heritage from the past. Pride of place should perhaps be given to the 18th and 19th century antiquaries with a bent for local history, a passion to collect anything relating to their own families or the administration of their own areas. Then came the local historical and antiquarian societies who not only collected and stored, but set about transcribing and publishing, and then, a little later in the field, came public libraries.

It is fitting that the public library of a large area should house such material provided it does not take the shortsighted view of treating it purely as a source of local history. It is that, but it is much more. So afraid was a certain Royal Commission that such interests would swamp the wider point of view that at one time it rejected an offer of the Library Association that libraries should be used for housing records on the grounds of the "unsuitability of the buildings" and the fact that "the scope of a Public Library is different from that of a Record Office". But local interest in local history is a strong force in safeguarding documents and the library is a natural centre for the collection of all material, books or documents, relating to local activities. Documents cannot be studied in isolation, it is useful to have all the aids to research in one building, and the librarian is certainly a servant of the research worker.

The Use of Archives

I have tried to tell you what archives are and why librarians help in preserving them. What use are they? We use them primarily, I think, as sources of local history. They are full of incidents about local people, not only the lord and his lady, but common folk as well—the streets and houses they lived in and how they earned a living or spent their leisure.

Archives, unlike our book stocks, never need to be discarded because they are never out of date. They remain, always contemporary records of facts which every generation will use in a different way to illustrate different theories. Fifty years ago it was the genealogist who made the

most use of our records to compile his pedigrees; today, it is the social and economic historian because social welfare and economics are fashionable subjects for research. What they will be used for tomorrow we do not know; but we are under an obligation to see that such material is handed on to the next generation without any diminution in its evidential value, which brings me to the part played by the archivist.

The Archivist

How should he be trained? If he is not the research worker himself, what does he do with his archives?

A striking example may be taken from a study of English law. In 1888 Maitland wrote an essay entitled "Why the history of English law is not written" and proceeded to deplore the fact that the mass of material to be sifted was so great as to make the task impossible. His history of the Common Law ends, consequently, in 1272. Fifty years later Holdworth's twelve volumes of English law were complete down to the end of the 18th century. What had happened that the seemingly impossible had been accomplished? Just the increased activities of the English archivists, with their transcripts, calendars and indexes, sifting and sorting the overwhelming wealth of material so that a master mind could utilize it.

There are two responsibilities laid upon the archivist—one towards the archives, the other towards his readers, and his primary responsibility is not to his readers. Readers are important but they are secondary. His first duty, as someone owing service to the past and to the future, is towards the archives themselves. He must hand down to posterity those documents confided to his trust without detracting anything from the evidence they may yield, nor may he add anything to them. His first job is to make and keep his archives physically fit. His task would have been easier if all owners had always looked after them properly. They should not be damp or torn or mouse-eaten, but if they are, something must be done about it. It is no good crying over spilt milk, but see it does not happen again.

His first job, then, is to dust and clean, repair torn and fragile pieces, re-size a large number of paper documents and see to their storage in rooms where they can be reasonably immune from fire, damp, dirt and careless readers, packed preferably in boxes where they can lie flat without being creased. In that process he must be careful not to destroy any archive order. Not at any price may be introduce the principles of book classification practised by the librarian.

Apart from municipal records it is not often that the local archivist

is fortunate enough to get a complete set of archives which have never been mishandled. Public libraries particularly are nearly always dealing with collections which may have been dispersed and reassembled several times, but very often there is a certain grouping apparent which should not be disturbed. To segregate such a group is to make gaps in the sequence of events. To rearrange them on any principle foreign to their natural order is to spoil their continuity. Every documents should be preserved in its original setting wherever possible. For instance, if you find a letter pinned to a deed you may remove the rusty pin but you must not remove the letter to fit it into a neat little pile of correspondence. The fact that at one time in their history there was an association between that deed and that letter may have a significance out of all proportion to the contents of either.

The second duty of an archivist is, by the compilation of guides, lists and calendars, to bring the contents of the repository in touch with the world of research. First he should produce a general guide to the collections in the respository. What kind of documents have you? How old are they? What are they about? The student in the first place does not want actual documents but a guide which will tell him which particular documents deal with his subject.

The choice between a descriptive list and a full calendar will depend on the age and importance of the collection and the amount of time the archivist can devote to its compilation, but he must guard against catering for one section of his public to the prejudice of others. In this connection it cannot be too strongly emphasized that the archivist is not an historian. The historian approaches archives from an entirely different point of view. He is interested in a particular period, usually in some special subject within that period, and uses archives to support the particular theories he is working out. Left to calendar documents himself, he will include all the details in which he has a special interest and omit the rest. The archivist must resist any temptation to regard one section of his archives as more interesting or more important than another. It is the quantity of material to be sifted that tempts the archivist to provide for the people who, at the present moment, make most use of his documents. In a public library it is chiefly the local antiquary who makes the most use of local archives, consequently they tend to be relegated to the department of local history, but I have no doubt that if they were calendared from a wider point of view they would supply a greater and wider need, e.g. we have no definitive history of conveyancing practice for the same reason that Maitland could not write a history of English law—there is too much material. Title deeds to property are the backbone of nearly every local collection and if local archivists are going to be content to extract from

them nothing more than references to local families and place names, we shall never get a history of conveyancing methods.

Without going more fully into this question of calendaring, the essential point is that calendars should, in the first instance, dispense with the need for searching the original documents. Thirty minutes on the calendar should save the historian thirty hours on the archives so that he need only turn to originals when he knows that they are likely to contain the information he wants.

Let me read you an extract from *Methods of social study,* by Sidney and Beatrice Webb.

"Here we must leave this dry dissertation on the right use of historical sources, conscious that we have failed to express the joy of life to be found in these diggings into documents and soundings and nettings of contemporaneous literature. It may be doubted whether there is any sport, any game, so alluring and so continuously absorbing as the hazards of sociological research. For this craft combines a gamble for some new discovery illuminating the origin, growth, and destiny of man, with the certainty of a modest yield of facts, facts which may seem insignificant, but which may prove to be the groundwork for a stride onward into the hitherto unknown. To spend hour after hour in the chancel of an old parish church, in the veiled light of an ancient muniment room, in the ugly and bare ante-room of the council chamber of a local authority with a stack of manuscripts to get through in a given time, induces an indescribably stimulated state of mind. There is, first, the curiously concentrated satisfaction of the rapid rush through manuscript and printed pages, brain and hand combining to detect and to record, from among the 'common form' with which the records are filled, new features in the constitution or activities of the organization.... Once immersed in contemporaneous literature, the temptation is no longer to skip what seems 'common form' but which might prove significant; it is, rather to wander down varied and seductive bypaths, observing and recording what is irrelevant. From being a detective following a dim trail, one becomes a judge or a sorting officer, casting out false evidence or bad material.... And where exactly must one stop this pleasant browsing....? Is it yielding nothing but repetition and is the collection of extracts already as great as can be utilized?"

The first half of that quotation is a serious indictment against archivists. The historian should not have to spend "hour after hour" in "ugly and bare anterooms". If the archivist knows his job the calendar will tell him if the document contains "new features" in "common form". At a later stage he will probably want the original documents but the calendar ought to tell him which documents are likely to be useful and

that is the kind of service which must be rendered to every type of record searcher.

The second half of the quotation shows you what happens when an historian is let loose among archives. He becomes a "judge" a "sorting officer casting out bad material" and what is "irrelevant". It may be highly relevant to another reader with a different end in view. Moreover, he stops this "pleasant browsing" when he has collected as many extracts as he can utilize, but the archivist does not.

Qualifications

Let me say something quite briefly about the archivist's qualifications for his work. First, he must be able to read his documents and that entails familiarity with a number of different scripts which have to be learnt. It is not a very difficult process because they develop from one another and each is based on the Roman alphabet. It has been a sufficient deterrent, however, to keep many an historian from studying original manuscripts for himself and one of the archivist's greatest services to the reader is the elucidation of documents.

Latin is the common language of all types of document in the 12th, 13th and 14th centuries. English becomes more frequent from the 14th century, but Latin was the official language of court records until 1732. Mediaeval Latin varies considerably from the classical variety, and as the general use of Latin died out the clerk found it more and more difficult to listen to English and write up his record in Latin. Abbreviation by the method known as suspension enabled him to dispense with inflection which makes Latin much easier to write, but more difficult to read! A clerk was once recording a dispute between two agricultural labourers. One struck the other with a weapon which he rendered rather delightfully as *cum pitchforko.*

Norman-French is found in certain 14th century documents but infrequently in local archives. It belonged more particularly to Court circles.

Abbreviations are perhaps more difficult to decipher than the script. Shortening the forms of words is an old and venerable method of saving time and space, but heavy abbreviation as you often find in constantly recurring phrases can be quite impossible to reconstruct unless you know what ought to be there.

You cannot escape a fairly extensive acquaintance with English history. In fact, the more you know the better—especially about administrative history. In dealing with archives you must remember that every document has played a part in an administrative or executive transaction. To fit it into the scheme of things you must know something

of the administration which created it. You are working on a collection of manorial documents—if you know the duties of a steward and his satellites, the recognized procedure at Court Leet and Court Baron, the relationship between the manorial and civil authorities, you are more than half-way to reading your documents, for the most difficult and careless hand is easier to read if you know what ought to be there. It also works the other way round, of course, for often it has only been by studying the archives that we have been able to reconstruct the administrative method.

Linked with administrative history is the history of English. A large proportion of archives originated in the law courts—ecclesiastical, manorial, county and borough courts which in a hundred and one ways interfered with the life of the ordinary citizen.

Before the industrial development wealth and social prestige were bound up with the land, so that one would expect to find many records relating to land, and a knowledge of the land laws, customs, tenures and so on are a necessary part of the archivist's equipment.

Some people will be more interested in the form of a document than in its contents—the manner in which a transaction was effected rather than the transaction itself, and a course in diplomatic will fit the archivist for that part of his work.

A detailed history of the region to which his documents relate is, of course, indispensible. A knowledge of local families, local industries, local geography and topography is a necessary background. I once sent some early Assize Rolls to London to be transcribed. In the transcript Llantwit Major, a small village in the Vale of Glamorgan, appeared as the Mayor of Llantwit. A London archivist coping with Welsh place-names may be excused but such an error made by the local archivist would have been unpardonable.

Chronology, too, is useful. Some documents are not dated at all and when they are it is not always easy to translate the date in modern terms. Early deeds are usually dated by a saint's day or a feast day and the particular year of a king's reign and feast days are too often moveable and different every year. The dates of Easter affected the law terms—Hilary, Easter, Trinity and Michaelmas which were not fixed until 1831, and many legal documents are dated by reference to the terms. The Civil year in England began on the 25th of March, not the 1st of January, until 1752, when the New Style of reckoning was adopted. The 1st of January to the 24th of March, therefore, has a double date according to whether you are calculating by the civil or historical year. Then our methods of computing time had not been strictly accurate and by 1752 the calendar was eleven days behind the times—an error which had been

corrected on the Continent as early as 1582. To adjust it we called the day after the 2nd September the 14th—thus omiting eleven days from the calendar. It caused a bit of consternation at the time, of course, and the slogan "give us back our eleven days" resulted from the agitation. For one thing it upset Michaelmas, the 29th September, from time immemorial a day for the payment of taxes and half-yearly rents, and you find many references to October 10th as "Old Michaelmas Day". The only institution which never did cope with the alteration was the Exchequer. When the 25th of March came round it appropriated its eleven days and presented its accounts on the 5th of April. There was another slight adjustment to the calendar in 1800 since when the 5th of April has always been the end of the financial year. All these different methods of computing dates can be very confusing to a beginner and a little time spent in the custody of chronology is well worth while.

If I may add to this specialist training, patience and perseverance, I think the archivist is reasonably well equipped. He sounds like becoming a "jack of all trades"; it is, in fact, essential that he does not become a specialist and in an age of specialization this may be a personal disadvantage. But if his work is well done many generations of students will call down a blessing on his head. His reward will not be spectacular but will consist largely of Maitland's "foot-notes of gratitude flung by the great man when he comes, to those who have smoothed his way, saved his eyes and saved his time."

REVIEW OF BOOKS

The Travels of The Abbé Carré in India and the Near East 1672 to 1674. Translated from the manuscript journal of his travels in the India Office by Lady Fawcett and edited by Sir Charles Fawcett with the assistance of Sir Richard Burn. The Hakluyt Society, London, 1947-48, Vol. I, pp. i—lvi, 1—316 and plates; Vol. II. pp. i—xxix, 317—676 and plates; Vol. III, pp. i—xxiv, 677—984 and plates.

ABBE CARRE is not entirely unknown to history. He accompanied Caron, the Director General of the French East India Company to Surat in 1688 and when Colbert sought to capture the Indian market for his countrymen and probably to eliminate the Dutch from the eastern seas, Carré was naturally selected as his confidential agent. Though still in his thirties and an eccelesiastic by profession Carré did not lack either in physical courage or diplomatic ability. Only a man of uncommon resolution could shake off a burning fever to set out on an arduous journey to Masulipatam and it needed a good deal of self-control for one who bitterly hated the Dutch as Carré did to keep his temper when he found himself among the enemies of his country at Golkonda. He seldom permitted his personal prejudices to get better of his judgment. Sir William Langhorn's reluctance actively to co-operate with the French against the common enemy did not alienate him from the English in general and he warmly admired the businesslike way in which they conducted their commercial transactions in India, nor did his unconcealed dislike of the Dutch nation prevent him from sharing a boat with a Dutchman on his way home. It was not Carré's fault that the French expedition ended in a disaster. He strove his best to undo the evils of personal jealousy and misunderstanding among the French Directors at Surat and to provision and finance the hard pressed garrison at S. Thomé. But when he left Surat on his way home in 1674 the results of de la Haye's campaign were no longer in doubt. It does not appear that Carré's devotion to duty and diplomatic services met with the recognition they deserved at Paris and he was permitted to fade out of public notice. Only once did he emerge out of the obscurity. In 1699 he published his *Voyage des Indes Orientales mêlé de pluseiurs Histoires Curieuses* in two volumes in which he gave an account of what he saw and heard during his first voyage.

The details of his second and more eventful voyage are to be found in a journal which has now been published for the first time. The journal found its way to the India Office Library as early as 1820 and the Directors paid for it no less than 40£ to John Walker the owner. Who John Walker was and how he came by this rare manuscript are entirely unknown. The manuscript did not attract much notice until Mr. R. E. Gordon George wrote about it in *The Geographical Journal* twenty-eight years ago (1921). A French scholar had early written a dissertation on *Les voyages de l'Abbé' Carré, agent de Colbert en orient 1666-74,* but only a resumé of his thesis was published in 1911. In 1937 the manuscript was once again brought to the notice of the English reading public when Kaye and Johnston's *Catalogue of the India Office Library, Manuscripts in European*

Languages, Vol. II and Part II was published. The details supplied by Mr. Kaye left no doubt about the historical value of Carré's journal and scholars in India and England simultaneously started to work on it. Lady Fawcett translated the original manuscript journal into English while Mr. S. P. Sen based his account of de la Haye's expedition on a rotograph copy obtained by the Calcutta University. The translation leaves nothing to be desired and preserves all the charm of the original and the introduction and notes contributed by Sir Charles Fawcett and Sir Richard Burn are well worthy of their wide learning and mature scholarship. They have rendered a valuable service to the study of Indian history which I have no doubt will receive wide recognition in this country. I have no comment to offer except about three or four notes. In note No. 2, p. 198 and again on p. 707 "two powerful beasts about the size and shape of a camel, called *neroux* (italics mine) by the local people" are identified with the nilgai, because its Latin name is *Boselaphus tragocamelus* or goat-camel. But in the Ratnagiri region where Carré saw the animals the nilgai is popularly called *Ru-i* (Blanford, p. 518 and also Molesworth, *Marathi-English Dictionary*) and not *nilu* though the word nilgai occurs in Marathi. On the other hand the sambhar, the biggest of the Indian deer is locally called meru which approximates to Carré's neroux. In size the sambhar is bigger than the nilgai and every shikari knows how difficult it is to form an accurate idea as to the shape of a fleeing animal in a forest. In note No. 1 p. 206 Sir William Foster's identification of Duchele with Bicholim is rightly supported for the Marathi and Muslim name of Bicholim is Dicholi. Even in earlier Portuguese records the old indigenous name occurs and of the seventeenth century European travellers at least one, Mandelslo, knew the city as Ditcauly (p. 72). But if Duchele is Bicholim is Sir William Foster right in identifying Sancle with Sangli or should it be identified with Sanquelim near Bicholim? The two wild men clad in tigerskins who hunted boars with dogs (p. 225) could hardly be *bairagis.* The word 'mosses' indicating female slaves (p. 522, note 1) is undoubtedly derived from Portuguese 'moça', a young female or slave; it is a common enough word and was frequently used in the same sense in the sixteenth century records.

I sincerely congratulate Lady and Sir Charles Fawcett on their excellent translation and annotation of Carré's journal. It is to be regretted that Sir Richard Burn did not live to see the publication of the second and third volumes.

S. N. SEN.

The Benares Diary of Warren Hastings, (Camden Miscellany, Vol. XVIII). Edited by C. Collin Davies, M.A., Ph.D., F.R.Hist.S., 1948. (London, Office of Royal Historical Society; pp. viii and 40.)

THIS *Diary* is undoubtedly a very important document recording the motives of Warren Hastings in meeting Shuja-ud-daulah, the Nawab Wazir of Oudh, and also the circumstances which led to the conclusion of the Treaty of Benares, on 7 September 1773. About the nature of its contents Hastings wrote: "The conferences held with the Wazir are

faithfully and exactly related, for it was a part of my daily occupation to write down, the instant we parted, every thing that has passed between us and as my whole attention, I may say, my whole heart, was fixed on the success of my commission, I scarce could have forgot a word of business that occurred on these occasions. I have left the whole uncorrected in its original dress with all my own defects, as well as His Excellency's, undisguised in it".

The Treaty of Benares was a highly significant transaction in the history of India at a time when her political destiny was taking a new turn in the midst of various conflicting forces struggling for mastery over one another. It concerned (*a*) the English East India Company who with their *de facto* supremacy over Bengal and Bihar was then naturally anxious to guard their north-west frontier by backing Oudh, which had become their buffer state since the Treaty of Allahabad (1765); (*b*) the Marathas, who after their recovery from the severe blows of Panipat were trying to extend their influence in the Gangetic Doab and the adjoining regions with covetous look on Oudh and even beyond it to the north-east; (*c*) the Nawab of Oudh, who sought to bring Rohilkhand under his control and also to checkmate Maratha designs in the north; and (*d*) the titular Delhi Emperor, Shah Alam II, who out of disgust for his virtual captivity in the Allahabad Fort since 1765 and non-fulfilment of the British promises under one pretext or another to escort him to his ancestral capital, had courted Martha alliance for this purpose (Sarkar, *Fall of the Mughal Empire,* Vol. II, p. 549). Martha ambition and push in the north formed, as Hastings thought, a potential menace to the East India Company and was largely responsible for his reversal of Clive's arrangement of 1765. Hastings wrote in his letter to Purling, dated 22 March 1772 (Monckton Jones, *Warren Hastings in Bengal,* pp. 181-82): "Yet if the Marathas proceed with the same rapid success which they have hitherto met with I fear nothing but a War prosecuted with vigour at a distance from our Borders can ensure peace and quiet to Bengal".

The Bengal Council observed in their letter to Court, dated 5 September 1773 "....we mean most steadfastly to adhere to the line you have laid down for us and to avoid without absolute necessity all Military operations foreign to the immediate defence of those Provinces, and those of our Ally. We cannot however forbear from declaring our apprehension that the Maratta's ambition and Enterprise will bring that necessity to a near period than we could wish especially since they have acquired possession of the King's person and the sanction of His Name, and are freed as we understand, by their Treaty with Hyder Ally Cawn from any diversion on his part."

For Maratha friendship Shah Alam not only lost Kora and Allahabad, but it was also one of the factors that led the Council in Calcutta to stop remittance of Bengal tribute to him. We read in Bengal Letter, Secret Department, 10 December 1772; "It was about the time that Shah Alam had abandoned his residence at Korah to throw himself into the arms of the Marattas in prosecution of his idle scheme of restoring the Moghal Empire to its ancient dignity and extent.... [It was] the general belief that the Marattas were preparing to invade the provinces of our Ally the Vizier and even enter Bengal. We judged it highly impolitic and unsafe

to answer the drafts of the King [despatched by an adventurer called Major Morrison; vide Gleig: *Memoirs of the Life of Warren Hastings*, Vol. I, pp. 275-80 and p. 323] till we were satisfied of his amicable intentions and those of his new allies and indeed independent of this the state of our Treasury rendered it impracticable to comply with these payments or with those which he would doubtless have continued to demand in full of his stipend....".

Hastings strongly urged his points in favour of the Benares settlement in his two letters to Colebrooke, one dated 26 March 1772, an extract from which has been quoted by Dr. Davies in the Preface, and another, dated 12 October 1773 (vide, Gleig, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, pp. 352-56) and also in his letter to Lawrence Sulivan, dated 12 October 1773 (vide Gleig, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, pp. 356-57).

Hastings' *Benares Diary* contains plenty of corroborative evidence and also some additional information. We get here a clear account of the various considerations of Hastings and the Council in Calcutta behind the Anglo-Oudh alliance of 1773. Hastings writes: "The Inequality of the Alliance which had subsisted between the Company and the Vizier since the Treaty of August 1765; the little utility which it had afforded, or was likely on its present footing to afford to the Company; the vast expense with which every march of our Forces at his Requisition had been attended; the Disproportion of the Sums stipulated for the Reimbursement of it; the Irregularity with which they were paid; the frequent subject of mutual Discontent which had arisen from the foregoing Causes; and the hope of deriving an advantage to the Company from the change occasioned in the King's affairs by his separation from us, and his late Engagements with the Marattas, were the notives which induced me to wish for a personal interview with the Vizier.... With these other Arguments of a second Consideration concurred. The Management of our Connections with the Vizier had hitherto been left to the Military Commander.... To abolish this partial Influence, to renew the connection on principles more comprehensive of the general System, and to establish immediate communication between the Administration and the Vizier, were points which the Board hoped to obtain from the proposed interview" (Paras I-III). He narrates also the "many circumstances" which "conspired to promise a happy issue from it."

Dr. Davies has laid us under a heavy debt of gratitude by carefully editing this record with a useful preface,. an Index and critical notes. In estimating its value he justly observes: "Historians, in their account of the steps leading up to the Treaty of Benares (1773), have relied on the debates in the Bengal Secret Consultations and on Hastings' Official report to the Board on his return to Calcutta. Apart from the fact that official reports have their obvious limitations it should be remembered that in the later discussions at Calcutta Hastings was defending his policy against the attacks of Francis, Monson, and Clavering, who formed the hostile majority on his council. In the diary we have the real reasons which prompted Hastings to reverse Clive's policy as laid down in the Treaty of Allahabad (1765). The conversations recorded were a frank discussion between Hastings as Governor of Bengal and Shuja-ud-daulah of Oudh, who was assisted by his Chief Minister, Muhammad Elich Khan."

The Royal Historical Society, London, is to be sincerely congratulated for printing this work in an excellent manner. But printer's devil does not spare anybody. "1776" in Footnote I, on p. 18 should be 1766 (vide Sarkar, *Fall of the Mughal Empire,* Vol. II, p. 548).

K. K. DATTA.

Anandaranga Vijaya Campu of Srinivasa Kavi. Edited by V. Raghavan, M.A., Ph.D., with a foreword by H. E. C. F. Baron, Governor of French India. (Palaniappa Bros. Teppakkulam, Tirucchirappalli, 1948; pp. xv + 75 + 199. Rs. 4.)

ANANDARANGA PILLAI played an important part when Dupleix essayed to establish French hegemony over the Deccan but until the discovery of his diary little was known about this remarkable man. His patronage of the Telugu poet Kasturi Rangayya has long been well known, the poem under review furnishes evidence of his interest in Sanskrit learning as well. Of the author Srinivas hardly anything is known except that he was one of the proteges of Pillai. The historical value of the poem is necessarily limited. Srinivasa's poem seeks to extol the virtues of his patron and to exaggerate his political achievements. He claims for Anandaranga and his wife royal ancestry and does not hesitate to make a divinity of the hero. Nor does he hesitate to discover supernatural influence in his master's affairs according to the well established convention of the classical writes. *Anandaranga Vijaya* is an unabased panygeric. Srinivasa therefore should be judged as a poet and not as a historian. The editor has acquitted himself well. He has not only contributed a learned introduction but has also supplied an exhaustive summary of the entire poem in English besides notes in Sanskrit.

S. N. SEN.

Excavating Buried Treasure. By Rufus G. Mather. (Harvard University Press, Cambridge, 1945; pp. 112 and plates).

MR. MATHER is not an archaeologist. He did not dig among the rubbles of ruined for remains of early man or relics of a vanished civilisation. As the subtitle explains this interesting little volumes deals with archives research—its nature and fields. The author spent many industrious years among Florentine archives private and public but his experience is by no means limited to the record offices of Italy. His researches took him to France and England and he is naturally familiar with the official records of his own country—U.S.A. He first started his enquiries at the instance of Professor Allan Marquaris but soon cultivated an enthusiastic interest in the history of Italian artists. To most beginners archives work is an unmitigated drudgery yielding little result of value and interest to the lay man. Mr. Mather registers a strong dissent to this

current belief and his book, as Mr. Edgell says in his *introduction*, reveals not only the necessity for archive research but it's fascination as well. Mr. Mather's book will prove equally attractive to the serious student and well as to that person of ambiguous taste the general reader.

S. N. SEN.

O Abade Faria. By Santana Rodrigues, Emprera Contemporanea de Edigoes. Lisbon. pp. 174.

THE author is an Indian physician working in Portugal. His hero was first brought to fame by the famous French novelist Alexander Dumas (Senior) and is no other than the mysterious prisoner of Chateau d'If, to whom Edmond Dante, the Count of Monte Cristo owed his liberty. Abé Faria, despite his name, was an Indian of unalloyed descent, a Brahman by origin though not by faith and the legitimate offspring of a monk and a nun. Dr. Rodrigues has rescued Faria from the realm of fiction and restored him to the world of facts against the background of Luso-Indian and European political intrigues. The real Faria was a man of science in many respects far in advance of his times. Dr. Santana Rodrigues has given us a fascinating pen picture of one of the most remarkable of his countrymen who expounded the mysteries of animal magnetism to Revolutionary Europe.

S. N. SEN.